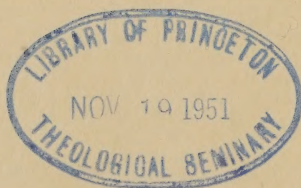


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**Intergroup Relations
in Teaching Materials**

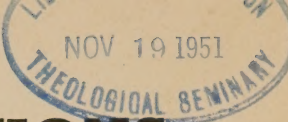
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INTERGROUP RELATIONS

in

Teaching Materials

A SURVEY AND APPRAISAL

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE STUDY OF TEACHING
MATERIALS IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

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AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION

Washington, D.C.

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Foreword

IN VIEW of contemporary strains and stresses in social relationships within the American population, and in the hope of fulfilling the dream of democratic life which inheres in our tradition, American education must early come to grips with the complex problems of education for constructive intergroup relations. There are many essential approaches to this task; among them is improvement in classroom teaching and in teacher education, and in both these areas the American Council on Education, aided by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, has important projects under way. A third enterprise, that of analysis of textbooks and courses of study, is an important approach to education for good intergroup relations. This volume presents the findings of such an analysis, and embodies significant recommendations for all who are involved in making and in using textbooks and courses of study.

The study here reported was made possible by a grant of funds from Milton H. Biow of New York City and his associates. The grant is in tribute to the memory of Sophie Biow, whose life was itself an example of wise, democratic human relations. The grant was made to the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and presented by the Conference to the American Council on Education. The Council organized the enterprise as one of the series of professional studies in the analysis and improvement of teaching materials which has formed a significant part of the Council's program in recent years.

It is not an easy task to carry on such a survey as is here reported; the survey is a pioneering enterprise in a complex area of education and of American life. To the committee of the American Council on Education, James L. Hanley, chairman, which was in general charge of the study, and to the staff which has carried out the work, the Council expresses deep appreciation. To the educators of the United States the volume is presented as a fruitful report on a phase of education which is crucial in these years.

GEORGE F. ZOOK, *President*
American Council on Education

August 1948

Contents

	PAGE
Foreword by George F. Zook	v
PART I	
1. Intergroup Relations and American Education	3
2. Method and Scope of This Study	15
3. General Criteria and Conclusions	26
PART II	
4. Individual Worth in a Democratic Society	37
5. Groups in a Democratic Society	57
PART III	
6. Ethnic Groups in the United States	83
7. Racial Groups in American Life	113
8. Religious Groups and Group Tensions	145
PART IV	
9. Intergroup Relations in Social Science at the College Level	179
APPENDIX	
Teaching Materials Examined	219

Part I

1

Intergroup Relations and American Education

THE PEOPLE of the United States are of many origins, many creeds, many races, many cultures. We are as diverse in our composition as any nation in history has been. Of the 131,699,273 Americans tabulated in the census of 1940:

Approximately 11,500,000 Americans were born outside the United States—born in all the lands listed in the geographies; one or both parents of nearly one-fifth of the American population were born abroad; very, very few citizens of 1940 could trace eight generations of forebears born in the North American continent.

Approximately 22,000,000 were Roman Catholic; 30,000,000 were Protestant; 5,000,000 were adherents of the Jewish faiths; small sects abounded; and many citizens adhered to no church.

Approximately 118,000,000 American citizens were white; 13,000,000 were Negro; one-third of a million were Indians; one-third of a million were Asiatic—Filipino, Chinese, Japanese. The mixture of races was far greater than usually recognized; the legal definitions of white and Indian and Negro varied within the Union.

A million and a half Americans were habitually Spanish-speaking; a million spoke the French of the St. Lawrence Valley; the English-speaking groups included those with a "Southern drawl," the misplaced "r" of New England, the flat pitch of the Middle West. There were Americans who spoke most easily in Italian or Greek or Swedish or Chinese, or Tagalog, or one of the dialects of Russia.

Any way you look at it, we in the United States are a varied people. Louis Adamic has well described us as "a nation of nations." Sociologically viewed the American population is a congeries of

groups—national-origin groups, ethnic groups, racial groups, sectional groups, religious groups, economic and political groups. To “know his way around” in the United States, one must understand these groups, their status in our national and local life, the diverse interrelations among them. Some of the groupings are large, others small; some are distinct and clear-cut, others amorphous; some are permanent, others ephemeral; some are powerful, others weak. Individuals are born into certain groupings from which they cannot escape; membership in other groups is voluntary, dependent upon choice by individuals.

On the whole, through most of American history, the groups composing the American population have got along together reasonably well. During the colonial period it took a long while for the citizens of the various colonies to realize that they had more in common than they had in difference. Religious groupings quarreled bitterly; the Indians hardly knew what to believe when missionaries painted the white man’s God in such various forms. Each succeeding wave of immigrants throughout our history has had a period of difficulty, depending for its intensity on many social and economic factors. In periods of stress and economic “hard times” there have been intense hostilities between groups—as in the struggles over the Alien and Sedition Acts in the late eighteenth century, in the violence of the Know-Nothing movement of the 1850’s, in the original Ku Klux Klan and again in its resurgence in the early twentieth century. But there has not been anything resembling the organized pogroms of Europe; our nearest to them is our record of individual lynchings and intermittent race riots. The United States disavows a caste system—although it is difficult, for example, to convince a college-trained young Negro seeking a rewarding place in American life of that fact, for the color line comes dangerously close to one.

Many factors have tended to minimize intense group conflict in American history. We were for long “a manless land for landless men,” and the frontier was open for any individuals of energy and ability. The extraordinary mobility of American life—a mobility which shifted people rapidly from one area to another and from one economic group to another—stressed the strength of an individual, regardless of his origin. A system of universal education gave wide

opportunity for children of most families to learn, and to advance by learning. Relatively speaking, group membership was not an inhibiting factor in the development and rise of an individual, except for the Negro, plagued with the traditions of slavery, and for the dispossessed Indian, plagued with the tradition of the frontier.

Yet, as the United States has grown older and "settled down," as the passing of the frontier has increased the competition for status in an industrialized society, as our population has become predominantly urban rather than rural, and as progress toward an integrated national society has inevitably come, the adjustment of relations among groups in our population has become both more important and more difficult. We are pressed in more closely upon one another; the safety valve of the geographic frontier is gone. No one can escape at least becoming increasingly conscious of groups other than his own. While more rigorous immigration laws have severely limited the number of new arrivals during the last two decades, the tremendous migration of our own citizens, stimulated by depression and war, creates new problems of intergroup relations. Migration of rural southern negroes to northern cities, of the "Okies" to the "promised land" of California, of job hunters along a maze of pathways—these have not added to the stability of American life. In America today there is a heightened conscience about intergroup relations. The tremendous experience of millions of men and women in uniform, moving about, meeting strange people, encountering new mores, developing both new sympathies and new prejudices, must have had an effect on American society not yet assayed.

The evidence of unhealthy tensions in American society of the late 1940's comes from many sides. Carey McWilliams has described some of the tragic phenomena in *Brothers Under the Skin*; Ralph Martin has told the not atypical story of Ben Kuroki in *Boy from Nebraska*, a Nisei's struggle to win status in the Army. Clashes between juvenile gangs of Jews and Christians, and the defacing of synagogues and churches are reported in the press. These overt conflicts and acts of hostility are only the surface of the evidence. Discrimination in employment, Jim Crow systems of transportation, restrictions against Negroes in theaters and restaurants, against Jews in clubs and summer resorts in the North as well as the South, against Catholics in most rural politics and against Protestants in

some urban districts, unseen "quota" rules in some colleges, are the day-by-day irritations and frustrations of many millions of Americans. In times of economic distress or in political crises, scapegoats are sought and individuals persecuted by stories—often myths—built up about out-groups. The Klan then rides again; or the Columbians plan their intolerable program of intergroup hate—possible prelude to a march of Blackshirts or of Brownshirts such as robbed Europe of its peace, and almost of its existence.

It is no accident, but the result of our own national development, with its vicissitudes and problems as well as achievements, that anti-Semitic, antiforeign, anti-Negro, antichurch sentiments—one should lump them all as antisocial—are on the increase in the United States today. The old mores of group relationship are under attack; new mores have not yet emerged. The whole world is uneasy. We are in the midst of an era of tensions, and not least among them are the tensions among groups in the American population. Such tensions are serious threats to the American way of life, to our unity as a people, and to our economic, political, and cultural welfare. Intergroup conflict is far more dangerous than are many of the more obvious, less insidious external threats against which we now erect barriers. In October 1947 an opinion poll reported in *Fortune* indicated that 50 per cent of the American people have active prejudices, but that 28 per cent of our people are ready to support "strong measures" to overcome intolerance. The poll also reports extensive prejudices in rural communities, even where few members of minority groups are to be found. At no point in our history have we needed more the feeling of common unity and cooperation on which our strength depends; at no other time has the danger of disharmony been greater than it is now. At no other time have we been so dangerously vulnerable to criticism from outside our borders on shortcomings in our human relations at home. Unless the democracy in human relations of which we dream and boast can be more clearly defined and its defenses more adequately erected, the precious dream of America may fade. It is indeed true that in the struggle for intergroup harmony, the American way of life is at stake.

In referring to good or constructive intergroup relations, no placid or static social millennium is envisaged. In a society as large

and varied as ours there must inevitably be competition and conflict of interest among many groups; in one sense this energetic intergroup action is a social strength; it is so only so long as it is contained within the greater unity. "Diversity within unity," a concept of cultural democracy, is the goal. The sort of intergroup relations which does not penalize an individual in situations where his group characteristics are irrelevant is what is needed. To eliminate judgment based on skin color, or creedal belief, or shape of head, or color of hair, or national origin, from situations in which these factors are inconsequential, and to cherish them in areas where they are pertinent, is the mark of cultural democracy. To be realistic about the myths and the facts of race, to be critical of superficial social judgments, to give every individual opportunity in terms of his personal ability—these are characteristic of constructive participation in intergroup relations.

In the struggle to retain our hold on social democracy and to increase the power of democratic intergroup relations, the eyes of the world are upon us. The United States has long been a haven of refuge for the persecuted and underprivileged; we have inherited a magnificent reservoir of good will, primarily because we have been, relatively speaking, the land of opportunity for individuals regardless of race and color and origin. There are now serious leaks in that reservoir. The treatment of groups within the United States has tremendous influence on our prestige abroad, and upon our relations with other peoples. Conflict at home between Catholics and Protestants makes a Good Neighbor policy toward Latin America more difficult. Mistreatment of Asiatic groups within our population makes a wise Asiatic policy on the part of the United States harder to formulate and harder to put into effect. Our problem of race relations causes many groups in other lands—black and white and yellow—to view our protestations of democracy with scepticism; the "reservoir of good will" toward us may easily be emptied by unwise and insensitive action at home. While we are doing our share through the United Nations in formulating a statement of the basic human rights of all men, there is need, both philosophical and political, for re-examination of our own historic commitments and the degree of their present realization.

It is not inconsistent thus to link individual human rights and

harmonious intergroup relations. As will be developed more adequately in later pages of this report, the groups into which the American population is organized are at one and the same time units of social action and conditioners of individual development. As units of social action they are appealed to by political leaders, by advertisers, by proponents of reform or of the *status quo*. Within each group, while there is a range of individual differences, there is a common influence on all group members. In most American cities, growing up as a Jew is quite different from growing up as a Protestant or as a Catholic; certainly the conditions of individual development are not identical for whites and Negroes. Group status, prestige, security, are intimately reflected in the personality adjustments of individual members of the group; on this point there is ample psychological and sociological evidence. There can be no democracy for individuals so long as there is no democracy in the relationship of groups to which they belong and to which they are often inescapably bound. Planning for constructive intergroup relations is one essential phase of planning for healthy individual growth and adjustment.

Good relations among such diverse groups as are legitimately American are not easy to achieve. There are sectarian conflicts within economic and political life today, all the more dangerous because they are indirect and concealed. Segregation in ghettos or "niggertowns" is a direct deterrant to effective intergroup action, as well as a violation of the dignity and worth of both the individual and the group. Repeatedly throughout the United States, conditions exist which deny a group the prestige and the parity of action legitimately claimed by virtue of the democratic faith. Among these "sore spots," points of friction between groups, are the relations of Spanish-speaking and English-speaking groups, of Protestants and Catholics and Jews, of Asiatic and Occidental Americans, of Negroes and whites. The situation of these groups, often described as the "Negro problem," the "Chinese problem," the "problem of the Spanish-speaking group," the "Jewish problem," is not sociologically a difficulty of these groups alone, but of society at large. The problem lies in the relations between these and other American groups.

The basic assumption of this study, then, may be summarized by

saying (1) that society is composed of groups, (2) that these groups determine to no small degree the personal growth and outlook of their members and are at the same time units of action in the social process, (3) that intergroup relations in the United States have been relatively harmonious in the past because of social and economic fluidity in our formative years as a nation, (4) that the conditions of living in the United States now require of us a new and more sensitive adjustment of intergroup relations, and (5) that failure to effect now a harmonious relationship among the diverse and sometimes belligerent groups in our population negates the "American dream" and weakens us at home and abroad at the very moment in history when our need is greatest for a magnificent unity in defense of and experience in democratic living. In many respects we are at a crossroads; the course of action we take in respect to intergroup relations in the years immediately ahead will determine the line of our social development for many decades in the future.

The Responsibility of Education

A second major assumption underlying this study is that the educational forces and institutions of the United States have responsibility for direct effort toward the improvement of intergroup relations. No better statement of the position taken by those responsible for this study can be phrased than that formulated by R. M. MacIver:

In a peculiar sense, this issue of group relations is a problem of our own country. In this country we have reached the ground for a higher stage of civilization in respect to groups and their relations because . . . in this country it is not a problem for political reform as it may be [elsewhere]. . . . We have passed that stage on the whole. If we lived up to our Constitution and our codes, the difficulties we are suffering from would largely disappear. There may be some changes we should make in this respect, but, on the whole, we have already conquered the political citadel. The trouble is that constitutions and codes do not control men's thoughts and emotions and attitudes. With us the trouble is not mainly one of political relations. It is not one, in the first instance, of the guarantee of civil liberties by constitutional law. It is a question of our social relations, it is a question of our social attitudes, and the reason why our codes and our Constitution in this respect are not too effective is that there is a discrepancy, a disharmony between the legal, the political side, which we have won, and the social side which we have

certainly not yet won. So the main issue is that of a better ordering of group relations. The question is for us one of our response to other groups, of our attitudes toward other men, and that should be the controlling factor in any program we offer, in any steps we take toward social betterment. The controlling fact is the need for social education, for social re-education.¹

Solution of the problem of intergroup relations in the United States and in our day rests essentially upon producing citizens who want good intergroup relations, who are socially sensitive, who know how to behave toward others as they would have others behave toward them, who know how to plan and organize social existence so it will be conducive to good relations among all men. These qualities and abilities depend upon knowledge, even more upon attitudes, and upon skillful social action. These qualities and abilities are essential if the codes and constitutions of which MacIver speaks are to be effective in spirit as well as in the letter of the law. These qualities and abilities are or may be the product of broadly conceived education. The production of these qualities and abilities is the great testing-process of our democracy.

Because it is a public and a social force, education cannot avoid a high degree of responsibility to the social context in which it operates. Since tensions among groups are dangerous to society, education has responsibility to help reduce these tensions. Since these tensions are especially alarming today, education today should be especially alert to them. Planned programs in behalf of good group relations are forced upon today's schools and churches and welfare agencies and communities simply because the welfare of society demands early improvement of intergroup relations. The importance of the social need warrants careful scrutiny of every educational program and influence to determine whether it is, directly or indirectly, doing all within its power to reduce tensions which are crucial to our welfare.

The educational tasks involved in this scrutiny (and planning) are not the responsibility of schools alone. Realism requires emphasis on the facts that the economic organization of modern life, our subtly taught folkways and group mores, and the influence of such

¹ R. M. MacIver, "The Ordering of a Multigroup Society," *Civilization and Group Relationships*, a series of addresses published for the Institute for Religious Studies (New York: Harper & Bros., 1945), pp. 162-63.

powerful media of mass communication as the press, the radio, and the film can either jeopardize or fortify to the point of effectiveness anything that the school can do. Effective education in intergroup relations is a combined operation of these agencies and the home and the church and the school. The hope, cherished by some reformers, that the schools alone can turn back the tides of prejudice and misunderstanding, is doomed to disappointment. But at the same time it must be pointed out that no turning back of those tides is likely to be effected without the planned cooperation of the school. Educational institutions have a task to perform, a part of the total job to do, which cannot be neglected if the goal is to be attained. No agency can replace the schools in this task, for their work and influence on pupils are more organized, sustained, and systematic than are those of other agencies and institutions. The process of education for intergroup relations, in so far as it can be carried on in schools, involves every aspect of the school. What happens in the social life and the extracurricular activity of students is of the greatest consequence to the attitudes and skills developed by pupils. The best way to acquire good intergroup relations is to practice them in actual group living. An alert school will approach the task of intergroup education through improvement of administrative practices, student club and organization arrangements, methods of teaching, techniques of guidance, as well as through the formal course of study and the provision of pertinent teaching materials. Although this study deals with teaching materials and curriculum alone, it by no means minimizes the importance of other approaches to the goal it has in mind.

Teaching materials and curriculum are, nevertheless, important. What is taught to pupils, directly or by implication, in the "subjects" or courses they take, affects, even if it does not exclusively determine, the attitudes of pupils. Every school should ask whether its program of studies includes matters pertinent to intergroup education—such matters as are dealt with in this report.

Elementary and secondary education in the United States are properly concerned with the emphasis on education for citizenship. Education for intergroup relations, rightly conceived, is a phase of this broader sociocivic education. But neither education for citizenship nor its component element, education for good intergroup rela-

tions, is coterminous with a given body of subject matter, to be lifted in or out of the curriculum at will. Education in human relations is not an entity in itself, something to be achieved and tabulated in isolation from other educational growth. The suggestion, frequently though naïvely made, for establishment of separate school courses in intergroup relations seems to the authors of this study not widely practical or promising. The attitudes, understandings, and skills required for good intergroup behavior are best learned in their context of the total school program. Every course and subject, every technique of instruction, and every phase of school life and school-community contacts have some bearing on education for intergroup relations. The study reported in this volume deals with many subject fields, searching to determine what resources for instruction each affords or may afford in this area. Education in intergroup relations is an integral part of general education for citizenship.

Good education does not ordinarily take place without planning; the qualities essential for good group relations are not likely to develop merely as by-products. They require direct attention in the sense that the teacher, curriculum-maker, and textbook writer must focus attention on understandings, attitudes, and skills essential for constructive participation in group living. This attention and planning must move toward two goals: first, the systematic introduction into the curriculum of needed experiences and subject matter, and, second, the equally systematic elimination of inaccurate or prejudicial materials and experiences. In the development of attitudes and social sensitivity it is important that positive teaching be not negated by innuendo, unwarranted generalization, misuse of terms, and unbalanced treatment of materials. Education in intergroup relations, even within the school, must proceed on a broad front, with all its sectors coordinated and mutually consistent.

In planning an educational program whereby schools may discharge their responsibilities for helping to improve intergroup relations within the United States, every phase of schoolwork, as has been said, must be considered. Every administrative technique, every aspect of social and recreational life, all phases of school-community relations, must be involved. Among these various facets of school, among those which may be most readily studied and controlled, are textbooks and courses of study. "What" is taught, as well as "how"

teaching is conducted, and "how" school life goes on, is pertinent. There are some who minimize the importance of subject matter as a factor in education for human relations, just as there are some who grossly overrate its power. Textbooks and subject-matter courses of study do not carry the full responsibility of schools any more than schools carry the full responsibility of society for education in human relationships, but just as the school has a certain share in the larger responsibility, so textbooks and subject matter have a certain share in the school's responsibility. With that share this report deals.

The influence of textbooks and other aids to instruction varies from pupil to pupil, from teacher to teacher, from school to school. The way a text is used may reduce or increase the power of its printed pages on the minds and the attitudes of pupils. The way of teaching *The Merchant of Venice*, for example, may make Shakespeare's story an influence for intensifying or for reducing antagonisms toward Jews. A teacher may use a prejudiced book as a bad example or may suffer its prejudice to go unquestioned. Or, even more elusively, a book which ignores a social injustice, may be supplemented by a wise teacher, while the insensitive or hurried teacher may follow the book's example and fail to seize an opportunity for the development in pupils of a measure of social sensitivity.

Considering such factors as these, one may well raise the question: Is a survey and analysis of textbooks and courses of study in such an elusive and complex field as that of education for improved intergroup relations worth while? Aren't the variables, the "if's," the external factors so great as to negate the merit of such an analysis? The answer is that, while all such factors must be considered, the influence of the printed page is still great. The position of the textbook in American schools is still powerful; it is still—whether one approves or not—the best clue we have to what is being taught and to the temper and interpretation of the subject matter to which pupils are exposed. There are many teachers who rise above the level of the textbook to widen pupils' horizons and to focus education on social matters. Even the worst of books can be trusted in their hands. There are many teachers, also, themselves so prejudiced, insensitive, and unwise in human relations, that no

textbook or program of studies is safe in their hands. And there are even more teachers, inadequately educated in the sociology of American life and inadequately experienced in the social process, who simply follow unquestioningly the course the textbook charts. For the great majority of schools in the United States the textbook is, and is likely to be for some time, the most accurate index of both the subject material presented to pupils and the temper and tone of instruction.

This report assumes (1) that education may be an effective influence in improving intergroup relations, (2) that all educational influences and institutions have a responsibility for doing all in their power to make effective education in this area a reality,² (3) that education must deal with all phases of individual development in order to increase pupils' understanding, make them socially sensitive, and equip them with essential skills of social action, (4) that schools must seek these ends by improving curricular and extracurricular programs, and (5) that an analysis of textbooks and courses of study may throw illumination on what schools are doing today and may suggest lines of improvement, at least so far as the subject-matter aspects of education are concerned.

² For a stimulating overview of "School Culture and Group Life" see *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, XXI, May 1948.

Method and Scope of This Study

THE STUDY which is reported in this volume emerged from the context of ideas which have been summarized in the preceding chapter—ideas which are the basic motivations and assumptions of the enterprise. The study emerged also from a series of actual situations in schools, and in the relation of minority groups to schools. In recent years widely scattered individuals and groups in the United States have sought to reform or to censor textbooks and other teaching materials used in schools. Books have been accused of being “unfair to Negroes” or “prejudiced against Jews” or “antireligious” or defamatory in treatment of other groups. Demands on individual school authorities for revision of books or for their blacklisting have occurred—and continue to occur—in many communities throughout the country.

Certain of the accusations and demands have been entirely legitimate and justifiable; others have been the tactics of pressure groups or irate individuals, sometimes tinged with political motives. Both publishers and school administrators have been perplexed by many of the issues raised—perplexed both in examination of the particular materials under attack and in consideration of the social policies, the school-society relationships, involved. There have been instances in which, in efforts to avoid displeasing certain organized and vocal groups with influence, injustice has been done to other groups, or to individual teachers, or to textbooks and their authors and publishers. The present study is free of any of these particular controversies; it is not a plan for or against this or that textbook. It is intended to provide a professional, dispassionate, and generalized analysis of problems which are too frequently raised and settled in an atmosphere of propaganda, vituperation, and pressure.

This study is but one in a series of studies, professional in character, which have been made in recent years for the purpose of improving textbooks and other teaching materials. Most of the studies have dealt with aspects of education for understanding of

international relations, and with the treatment accorded in textbooks used in the United States to Latin America,¹ to the Far East,² and to Canada,³ for example. The general history of textbook analysis and its influence on the evolution of the curriculum in American schools has been well summarized by James Quillen in a recent memorandum prepared for the use of UNESCO at the request of the United States National Commission.⁴ A report on textbook analysis on the international level, *Looking at the World Through Textbooks*, has been prepared by the UNESCO Secretariat.⁵ From all these studies and reports the present study profited in technique and in substance, though the present enterprise, as will be seen in this volume, involves problems not faced by most other studies.

In common with preceding studies of a professional character, the study of textbook and course-of-study materials affecting education for constructive intergroup relations, seeks to be objective in character. This study was not undertaken as a special appeal from so-called minority groups in the population of the United States, though it has been carried on with full cognizance of the wishes of these groups. It is not a partisan plan for "better treatment" of Negroes or Jews or Catholics or other racial or ethnic or religious groupings, but it does analyze issues and materials in which these groups sometimes feel themselves affronted or unjustly ignored. The study is essentially sociological in outlook and in scope, assuming, as has been said, that the goal sought is better treatment in teaching materials of the total problem of intergroup relations. It assumes that the majorities as well as the minorities in the American population are concerned with the issues under scrutiny. In the study, the treatment of specific groups is only

¹ Committee on the Study of Teaching Materials on Inter-American Subjects, *Latin America in School and College Teaching Materials* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1944).

² Committee on Asiatic Studies of the American Council on Education, *Treatment of Asia in American Textbooks* (New York: American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1946).

³ Canada-United States Committee on Education, *A Study of National History Textbooks Used in the Schools of Canada and the United States* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1947).

⁴ I. James Quillen, *Textbook Improvement and International Understanding* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1948).

⁵ UNESCO House, 19 Avenue Kleber, Paris, XVI, France.

illustrative of the total complex of intergroup relations. The interest of society—of democratic society—in good intergroup relations is the focus of the investigation.

The study also has in its purpose—as do most of the other studies referred to—a thoroughly practical goal; it is not interested in research simply for the accumulation of knowledge; it seeks concrete suggestions for early and positive improvement of teaching materials. The makers of the study have not feared to suggest practical recommendations for both textbook writers and those who construct courses of study, basing suggestions on the available, though not necessarily complete and final, information. In this sense, the study is not merely a quantitative report, a tabulation of space allocations or a description of the coloration of adjectives or a count of factual inaccuracies. The study is concerned with actual school problems in a broad and confusing context; it is not a laboratory research separated from social reality in order to increase its objectivity. The makers of the study have been objective within the context of the assumptions stated, and have made recommendations on the basis of their best judgment. Their recommendations are related to actual school situations and possibilities and are, in some cases, presented as hypotheses to be tested by further experience. This volume is a working document, a service memorandum, a suggestive guidepost, and not a definitive, purely descriptive analysis either of the influence of textbooks on their readers or of the final issues of intergroup relations. Before that definitive volume can be written, much basic research in psychology and sociology as well as pedagogy must be done.

Yet as a service study, relatively objective and nonpartisan, working within a recognized framework of ideas and assumptions, and consistently alert to the realities of textbook production, textbook selection and use, and curriculum-making in American schools, the study serves a significant function at the present stage of America's educational and sociological development. Its hypotheses and its suggestions, no less than its data on the content of teaching materials, are of immediate consequence to the practicing leaders of American education. In a sense, the formulation of assumptions, forced upon us by the necessity of clarifying criteria for the analysis of printed material, constitutes an approach to curriculum-making

of even more value than the analysis of texts. The study has as much suggestive value for practicing teachers and for curriculum committees and bureaus as it has for publishers and authors of textbooks.

The present study differs from most others in that it is not identified with a specific body of subject matter which can be definitely circumscribed and isolated for purposes of analysis. As has been said, education for intergroup relations is not a single, separate area of experience for young people; it is a function of all social experience and of many aspects of subject matter, intricately related to understanding and to attitudes. One cannot analyze the textbook treatment of intergroup relations in the same fashion or with the same degree of precision as the textbook treatment of Latin America or of Canada, for example. Textbook passages influencing pupils' understanding or attitudes toward intergroup relations are not identifiable in a book's table of contents or its index. The task of analyzing materials for their influence on education for intergroup relations is complex and difficult; it involves accuracy of items of fact scattered widely through the textbooks; it involves locating errors of omission as well as commission; it involves style and coloration of writing; it involves the assumptions and implications of the material on printed pages.

In the light of these complexities the study here reported has been carried on with three questions in mind. Textbooks, manuals, anthologies, and courses of study in certain areas of general education have been examined and appraised in order to answer these questions:

1. *What do these teaching materials now present to pupils, directly or by implication, about groups and intergroup relations in American life?*

2. *How good or how bad is the treatment accorded selected topics which are pertinent to intergroup relations as judged by its accuracy, adequacy, and impact in the development of understanding and mutual respect?*

3. *What constructive suggestions may be made to the authors, publishers, and users of textbooks and courses of study?*

It must be emphasized again that the answers to these questions are not easy to find. A tabulation of the number of lines or pages

allocated to a given topic, or a count of the number of times Negroes are mentioned, or a list of all the Jews or the Spanish-speaking Americans whose names appear in print may be quite unrevealing. Purely quantitative data will be minimized in the pages which follow, and the context of materials will be included in the analysis. Form of expression is, for present purposes, as significant as the data themselves. Style and literary form heighten or reduce the influence of the book on pupils. The way a teacher uses the volume and the general curriculum framework in which it appears are of consequence. Yet with all these imponderables, a trained, sensitive observer, alert to the issues involved in intergroup relations can identify much to praise and much—particularly in the way of omissions—to condemn in currently popular textbooks and courses of study.

Educational literature records many “witch hunts” of textbooks and other teaching aids—witch hunts which exemplify the common techniques of scapegoating. It would be as easy as it is unfair to exaggerate deficiencies and ignore good qualities in the materials here under investigation. This study is not a device for establishing a black list or a white list of books; it deals with total groups of books and courses of study; individual items remain anonymous. It would be easy, too, to allow such a study as this to become a perfervid plea in the interest of underprivileged groups, to lose perspective in an appeal, however righteous and high-minded, for the cause of minorities. As has been said, this study seeks to avoid the stereotypes of majority-minority relations, to remain objective, to resist the pressure influences of specific groups at the same time that it combats the insidious lethargies of social processes insensitive to the rise of new conditions.

Teaching Materials Examined

The scope of materials examined in this study is very broad. Various phases of the report deal with texts and course-of-study outlines used in elementary schools, junior and senior high schools, and, to a lesser degree, junior colleges or the first two years of traditional college organization. Selected materials range from about grade four to about grade fourteen. Within this range, the study,

for obviously practical reasons, deals with a limited group of subject fields which (a) are commonly studied by large groups of young Americans, and (b) have or may be assumed to have relatively close bearing on aspects of intergroup relations. The fields of United States history, world or general history, geography, citizenship and civics, modern problems, biology, literature, sociology, and introductory overviews of the social sciences were included. Not all the textbooks or courses of study or manuals available in these fields were examined; rather a carefully selected list of the most widely used publications was prepared in consultation with publishers and educational leaders.

The number and distribution of books in these fields which were read and examined are as follows:

United States history: 28 books for elementary, junior high, and senior high schools.

World or general history: 18 books for the upper grades and high schools.

Geography: 47 books (many in series) for elementary, junior high, and senior high schools.

Civics and citizenship: 25 books, largely for junior high schools, with some for senior high schools.

Modern problems: 19 texts for senior high schools.

General social studies: 30 volumes for elementary schools and the upper grades.

Biology: 16 secondary school texts.

Reading and literature: 115 books for elementary, junior high, and senior high schools.

Introductory social sciences: 17 books for college use.

These groups involve 266 textbooks used in schools, 24 introductory college texts, and 25 college manuals—a total of 315 volumes prepared especially for instructional use.

The study was made during the years 1944 to 1946 and is based upon materials available at that time. Circumstances beyond our control prevented immediate publication, but the study is accurate as of that date.

While the schools in large number continue to use publications of the period during which the study was made, a careful check was made in late 1948 of new editions of books from which materials are

quoted in this report. This 1948 analysis does not reveal new materials which may have been inserted in the revised editions nor does it deal with new books published since 1944. It indicates, however, that only a few revisions in the quoted passages have been made. Footnote references in this report indicate the revisions which have been made, and a summary of the changes is given in the bibliography of "Teaching Materials Examined" in the Appendix. Although there is no doubt that authors and editors are increasingly conscious of the problems and the sensitive issues of education for intergroup relations, it is somewhat discouraging to note that in only two cases have the changes in quotations adequately modified the earlier statements.

One of the most useful bodies of materials analyzed is a group of courses of study, selected on a somewhat different basis from that of the textbooks. Many especially forward-looking schools in the United States prepare their own courses of study and teaching guides. In many cases these courses of study or curriculum bulletins provide materials or suggest topics for presentation to pupils which go beyond the usual textbooks. In order to find out whether these teaching guides deal with materials on intergroup relations, a group of them was examined. An inquiry was directed in the autumn of 1944 to three hundred superintendents of schools in forward-looking school systems, large and small, asking for any courses of study, curriculum bulletins, or locally prepared instructional units or directives dealing in any way with the general area of intergroup relations. It is significant that materials, varied as to subject and grade placement, were received from only sixty schools; not many courses of study are in advance of textbooks in their recognition of the problems and possibilities of education for intergroup relations.

The materials received, as well as material located in educational literature, were carefully studied during the survey. It should be emphasized that the analysis of courses of study does not constitute a survey of common practice, as in the case of textbooks; rather, the purpose was to discover especially promising practices and possibilities in curriculum development in this area. The data respecting courses of study have been especially helpful in formulating the criteria and the suggestions in this report and are in

other respects secondary or supplementary to the direct analysis of textbooks.

One other resource of marked influence in shaping the report was the consultation and advice of large groups of teachers and of specialists in the subject areas dealt with. In the fall of 1944 letters were addressed to three hundred carefully selected teachers known to be interested in the problems of intergroup education; many of these teachers wrote extensively, and in continued correspondence, of their own experiences in the classroom, their own analysis and use of textbooks, their own ideas of constructive curriculum developments. Their contributions to this volume are numerous even if not identified. In addition, various groups of specialist consultants held conferences with the survey staff from time to time. Numbers of sociologists, psychologists, publishers, authors, teachers, and representatives of racial, religious, and ethnic groups were brought together for consultation on various phases of the study as it progressed. To these groups, and especially to the continuing consultation with Dr. Gordon Allport of Harvard University, this study owes much.

Personnel and Procedures

As explained in the Introduction to this volume, the study was under the direction of a committee,⁶ widely representative of fields of study and action significant to the project, appointed by the American Council on Education. The committee met frequently during the course of the study to determine all matters of policy and examine all manuscripts produced as the report evolved. A staff, appointed and directed by the committee, was responsible for the carrying-out of policies and the production of the report.

During the period from 1944 to 1947 a staff of nine people worked on the report for periods ranging from six to twelve months. The group was made up of experienced school and college teachers familiar with the actual use of texts and courses of study under classroom conditions. Among them were specialists in history, in literature, in psychology, in sociology. Members of the staff were themselves qualified to represent the views and reactions of Protes-

⁶ See list of members on page facing title page of this book.

tants, Catholics, and Jews, of Negroes, and whites, of widely scattered sections of the United States. Five of the nine staff members worked intimately together for a year, carrying the study through its initial stages, reading textbooks and exchanging comments and reactions, formulating by prolonged group discussion the assumptions and criteria which are central to the study. Other staff members were brought in for special assignments and for editorial work on the final report.

The first task of the staff was to familiarize itself with the literature on intergroup relations and on education for intergroup relations. From this study of background materials and from early consultations with specialists were evolved certain tentative standards or "leads" to guide the examination of textbooks. With these tentative criteria in hand, a preliminary examination of sixty volumes was made. In the books, topics pertinent to the study were identified, types of emotionalizing expressions were listed, omissions were noted, but above all the general tone and scope of the texts were scrutinized. On the basis of this preliminary survey, definite criteria for the study as a whole were then formulated. The criteria were not crystallized in an a priori fashion; they emerged from first analysis of the books, with earlier leads modified and with practical possibilities sharpened. The adopted criteria are grounded in the background data of specialists, in the actualities of textbooks, and in the ethics of good, democratic human relations. The criteria are a bridge uniting the three sources.

Having formulated criteria for examination, after some months of exploration, the staff then proceeded to scrutinize all of the texts, manuals, and courses of study mentioned earlier. Most items were read by several staff members; excerpts, comments, and criticisms on all books were examined by the total staff. Hundreds of excerpts and notes were taken; these became the raw material for drafting the report. Out of discussion of them gradually emerged the outline and organization on which this volume is based. Drafts of the various chapters were prepared in 1945, submitted to committee members and consultants, and extensively revised. During 1946 the entire manuscript was subjected to careful review and coordination; many new "spot analyses" and elaborations of early scrutinies of the books were made, as the total outline of the report was

unfolded. Suggestions and recommendations were woven into the body of findings to make the report what it has become—a curriculum study, using textbook analysis as a springboard for the consideration of wide-ranging possibilities in the field of education for intergroup education.

Curriculum committees and research departments, as well as individual teachers and authors, may find suggestions in the report for new types of material to be inserted in courses of study as well as suggestions for the revision or change in emphasis in present teaching materials. Committees of teachers may study the assumptions as well as the conclusions in this volume, and apply those assumptions with which they agree to their own courses and to supplementary teaching materials which have not been covered in this study. The volume will serve its purpose best if it creates a new consciousness among teachers of the possibilities in education for good intergroup relations, and if it leads to experimentation in school programs along the lines here suggested.

Certain factors in the report as it finally appears should be pointed out. The problem of defining terms has been especially difficult. Even the classification of groups for the purpose of organizing sections of the report has faced deficiencies of vocabulary. The term "ethnic group" is used with various meanings in the literature of sociology and anthropology. Definition of race is not universally agreed upon. In the case of religious groups, definition of the groups themselves is not so difficult as is the role of religion as a motivating factor in human affairs influential in the improvement of relations among all types of groups. The definitions of these terms and the assumptions about them, as used in this report, are presented in the chapters which follow.

Originally it was hoped that the survey might deal with art products as educational influences, with art as a phase of school instruction which has undoubted influence on shaping attitudes. Various exploratory studies in the field were undertaken and various manuscripts prepared, but they are not included in the present report. The educational implications and the social relations and responsibilities of creative individualism in the arts are matters of such extensive disagreement that it has not been possible to formu-

late acceptable criteria on which to base analyses and recommendations.

Finally, it should be pointed out that this is a group report, produced by staff and committee members, and participated in by many consultants. The personal judgments and values of each of these individuals enter into this report. It is doubtful that any individual is entirely satisfied; each might modify some of the assumptions and recommendations, or might elaborate and add others. The study as it stands is one to which all who shared in producing it can subscribe as a "next step" in the analysis and evaluation of education for intergroup relations. Recognizing that the study deals with values cherished by many differing people and with mores deeply imbedded in society, recognizing that it deals with only one agency of intergroup education—the teaching materials of formal educational institutions—and recognizing that in its constructive possibilities rather than in definitive pronouncements, the study is presented as a group contribution to the literature of a basically important and relatively neglected field of education.

General Criteria and Conclusions

ESTABLISHMENT of the criteria used in evaluating the books and courses of study dealt with in this survey is necessarily a somewhat subjective process, but it is the basic factor in the survey itself and it has relevance far beyond the analysis of the textbooks themselves. The criteria are developed and explained as this report progresses, but a summary here is appropriate. Such a statement affords essential background for the study; it has also a suggestive and direct value for all those who deal with the varied problems of education for intergroup relations. The criteria are useful yardsticks for appraising school curriculums and social situations as well as textbooks.

1. The more one analyzes intergroup relations, the stronger grows the conviction that *respect for individual worth and dignity* is fundamental to them. Intergroup relations are human relations, and human relations in a democratic society are based upon sensitive recognition of the dignity and value of individuals. Democratic intergroup relations cannot be attained outside the framework to which individual welfare is basic. It is legitimate, then, to ask a series of searching questions as to what textbooks and courses of study say, directly and by implication, about the worth and value of individuals in society. Among the questions to be asked on this point are:

- a) Do textbooks stress the concept and character of individual personality, individual value, and individual responsibility?
- b) Are pupils taught about the physical, psychological, and social factors which condition individual growth toward well-balanced maturity?
- c) Are the safeguards of human worth which have been established in the evolution of democracy (such safeguards as the civil liberties, due process of law) adequately presented to young Americans?
- d) Are the responsibilities as well as the rights of individuals stressed in our teaching materials?

These and similar questions, as well as many subordinate queries,

are proper to ask in a survey such as is reported here. The answers are found in part in the direct treatment in textbooks or courses of study of the matter of individual growth and status, in part by the placement of emphasis, and in part by general overtones, implications, and style of presentation. Answers to the questions will be elusive and somewhat subjective, but answers to them are a requisite of this study.

2. Young Americans need not only a clearer vision of, and loyalty to, individual worth and dignity, but also need to have keen consciousness of the *group organization and structure of a democratic society*. As has been suggested earlier, they need to understand groups as conditioners of the individual development and welfare of their members, and also as units in the general social process. A sociologically sensitive outlook on society is a prerequisite for long-term harmonious and constructive intergroup relations. In this sociological area, we may well ask such questions as the following about textbooks and courses of study:

- a) What conceptual picture of group organization of society is presented to pupils?
- b) Do teaching materials make clear to pupils what a group is and how it functions in our society and in the lives of its members?
- c) What concepts of "Americanization" and "melting pot" and "cultural democracy" are taught to pupils?
- d) Are pupils helped to see themselves as members of many groups?

These questions are drawn from sociology and cultural anthropology. Direct treatment of the topics with which they deal may be expected in textbooks on the newer social sciences, but implications and assumptions inherent in the presentation of history and of literature will also shed light on the answers to the questions.

3. Consideration of the group structure of a democratic society leads at once to *analysis of the major specific groups in American society*. Indeed, the treatment accorded these groups in the textbooks and courses of study is the surest index of the authors' actual concepts of social structure so far as groups are concerned. It is obviously impossible to list here or to expect to find in the teaching aids relatively full treatment of all the groupings in our population. For purposes of analysis, and on sound, practical educational con-

siderations, attention in this survey has been concentrated on a few groups of particular importance in the contemporary American scene. Certain ethnic, racial, and religious groups have been chosen for analysis, partly because they are important in themselves and partly because the treatment accorded them in the texts is an index of the group attitudes characteristic of the texts. In this area such questions as the following are asked:

- a) What use is made of such terms as "race" or "racial group," of "immigration" and "immigrant group," of "religion" and "religious sect"?
- b) Are stereotyping terms, such as "half-breed," "poor white," and "backward" or such generalizing terms as "ignorant," "uncultured," and "ruthless," used indiscriminately?
- c) What treatment is accorded American Indians? Negroes? Jews? National-origin groups? Foreign-language groups? Religious groups?

Answers to such questions as these will occupy a large proportion of this report. The major groups in American life appear in histories, in the civic and modern problems textbooks, in geographies and general social science manuals, in anthologies. The materials about specific groups are more definite and discernible than those about individual worth and group structure.

Yet the importance of materials on specific groups can easily be exaggerated. Many schools and curriculum experts, sincerely interested in education for intergroup relations, seem satisfied with an emphasis on study of specific groups as an adequate program in education for intergroup relations. From the point of view of this survey, the correct study of individual groups is only a part of the needed program. Study of individual worth, of the group structure of society, and—as will shortly be indicated—of the social process is an essential foundation and framework for the study of specific groups.

4. From sociology and social psychology comes another group of questions, focused not on the structure of society but on the *techniques of social action in intergroup relations*. These focus on phases of the social process, on ways groups are treated, on methods of cooperation and conflict. Among these questions are the following:

- a) Are pupils taught explicitly about the methods and procedures of intergroup relations?

- b) Are pupils made aware of the nature and extent of prejudice as a social force?
- c) Are the forms and effects of discrimination, scapegoating, segregation, and other such techniques of social action made clear to pupils?
- d) Are the techniques of tolerance, mutual respect, and co-operation adequately presented to pupils?

These questions, like those dealing with individual worth and with social structure, are drawn from the newer social sciences. The survey should determine whether textbooks and courses of study are dealing with them explicitly, or merely by implication. The asking of the questions is itself a matter of significance for curriculum-makers.

These four areas of content—(1) treatment of individual worth and dignity, (2) treatment of group structure of democratic society, (3) treatment accorded major specific groups in the American population, and (4) treatment of methods of interaction among groups—are the subject-matter yardsticks against which teaching materials have been measured. They are the basis for organization of the report here presented. Following Part I, which deals with background, techniques, and general conclusions, a series of chapters in Parts II and III deals with these four criteria. Chapter 4 analyzes the treatment accorded individual worth in a democratic society, and chapter 5 analyzes the treatment of social structure of groups and the techniques of social relationship among groups. Chapters 6, 7, and 8 are devoted to the third criterion, and present analyses of the treatment accorded specific ethnic, racial, and religious groups present in the American population.

Part IV consists of one chapter dealing with a special study of the materials used in certain introductory social science courses at the college level. In this survey the same yardsticks of measurement were employed as were used in the analysis of school textbooks and courses of study.

Summary of General Conclusions

As has been said, a total of 266 textbooks for use in various courses in elementary and secondary schools, 60 courses of study and 49 college textbooks or manuals were examined and appraised

in the light of the criteria described in this chapter. The detailed findings and observations and recommendations are presented in succeeding chapters. It is useful at this point, however, to present an over-all summary of the conclusions to which the committee and staff of the survey have been led. Substantiation of the general conclusions will be found in later chapters. A series of thirteen general conclusions may well be stated here.

1. *Errors of omission.* With very few exceptions, the textbooks and courses of study are free of intentional bias toward any population group. However, there are frequent value-judgments and implications, unconsciously or carelessly expressed, which tend to perpetuate antagonisms now current in American life. And, even more pronounced, there are omissions of data and gaps in curriculum planning which result in failure of the teaching outlines and materials to come to grips with issues especially significant for young citizens today. It is to be hoped that in the immediate future schools will deal more positively and constructively with ethical, psychological, and sociological factors of rising importance in American life, and of essential value in preparation for active citizenship in a democracy.

2. *Dignity and worth of the individual.* The essence of democratic human relations is respect for individual worth and dignity. In the textbooks, however, the individual is usually submerged in the group; there is not adequate attention to the nature and value of human personality. Even such democratic institutions as the franchise and civil liberties are likely to be treated abstractly and impersonally. In the few places in texts or courses of study where personality is studied by pupils, the topic is treated as one of manners or glamour; it becomes too nearly "how to influence others" or how to appear polished and urbane. Pupils study little about personality as the psychologist knows it, about the influence on individual growth, about the mechanisms of adjustment or frustration. The teaching materials and courses of study fail to tell pupils "what it means to be a human being"; they fail to lay the intellectual foundations for the central ethical principles of the democratic theory.

3. *Group organization.* Even as psychological data about the person are missing, so also are sociological data about the structure of groups and about their influence on the individual and on the

total society missing from texts and courses of study. Emphasis is on the typical group member rather than on the variety of individuals within a group. All Jews are too frequently regarded as alike; types are presented which often lead to stereotyping of Negroes or Catholics or Northerners and Southerners or laborers and employers. The average, rather than the range, of group membership is stressed. Groups as conditioners of individual development and as "units of social action" are not explained to pupils. "In-group" and "out-group" concepts as defined by the sociologist are rarely explained to pupils. A wealth of information about groups, made available by sociology and anthropology in recent years, and essential as background for intelligent intergroup relations, should be—but is not now—included in teaching guides and materials. Of particular consequence, the overtones of the "melting pot" and other earlier concepts of the Americanization process should be eliminated in favor of a more thoughtfully considered "cultural democracy."

4. *Treatment of immigrants.* While some texts contain excellent and sensitive treatments of immigrants to America, and most texts list the contributions of such groups, the immigrants are ordinarily regarded and rated by authors as "out-groups" rather than "in-groups." They are often referred to in patronizing terms. Most courses of study and texts classify immigrants as "old" (before 1880) or "new," and refer to the "new" in alarming terms as "hordes" or "swarms," and always as "problems." The accounts of restriction on immigration commonly imply or even state judgments and attitudes which contribute to prejudice rather than analysis.

5. *The concept of Americanization.* A few texts, especially in civics, treat Americanization as a process by which immigrants are transformed into duplicates of established Americans; a much larger number present the melting-pot concept by which all Americans come out in a common mould. Few books consistently present and imply the concept of "cultural pluralism" or of "diversity within unity" as the pattern of Americanization. There is urgent need for more careful study by authors and by curriculum-makers of the basic principles of Americanization, and for a consistent presentation to pupils of principles which are consonant with democracy.

6. *Treatment of Jews.* Most of the material about Jews in texts

and courses of study is about the ancient Jews: for example, three-fourths of the space allotted to Jews in world history texts deals with events before 79 A.D. Pupils are left with the assumption that Judaism and Jewish culture have changed little since that time. Reference to Jews after that date is most commonly in connection with persecution; there is little about the constructive contributions of the group or about their harmonious relations with other groups. Many of the accounts of the Crucifixion as found in world histories are too generalized to be fully accurate, and afford some basis for the development of prejudice among pupils. There are many inaccuracies in the description of Jews as a race; there is little recognition of religious, economic, and cultural variations among Jews; there is little to offset the stereotypes of Jews which abound in contemporary social thinking.

7. *Treatment of Negroes.* While recently prepared texts and curriculums tend to direct more attention to Negroes as an American group, the average text and teaching guide tend to ignore the group, particularly its position in contemporary society. A very large proportion of the references to Negroes put before pupils treats Negroes as slaves or as childlike freedmen; very little data about Negroes since 1876 are to be found in the history texts. The plantation mammy and Uncle Remus stereotypes tend to be perpetuated both in social science and literary materials. Textbooks in all fields, on occasion even in biology, present hazy and confused ideas about race, scientific data about race being conspicuous by their absence. The illustrative materials of the texts deal even less adequately and sensitively with Negroes than do the printed words.

8. *Treatment of the Spanish-speaking minority.* Another group in American life about which pupils learn too little is the Spanish-speaking group living not only in the Southwest but in most of our metropolitan communities. The ethnic qualities of this group, its place in the pattern of American society, and the problems faced by its members are virtually ignored. Where mentioned, and particularly in literary anthologies, the stereotype of the Mexican peon is intensified.

9. *Treatment of Asiatic minorities.* Substantial groups of Americans are of Chinese or Japanese or Filipino ancestry; these groups occupy a unique position intimately affected by world conditions

during war and postwar years. The teaching materials lag behind current developments concerning them; offensive generalizations about them occur frequently, especially in the connotation of racial inferiority and the "white man psychology." Historical data on their immigration to this country are ordinarily presented in a framework of assumptions about Asiatic inferiority; such accounts are virtually unrelieved by sociological data on the present status, contributions, and problems of these groups.

10. *Treatment of religious groups.* Most texts assume the desirability of religious groupings in society; a number of texts point out religious differences as causes of intergroup frictions. As has been suggested, the treatment of Judaism emphasizes the remote past and the factor of persecution; many texts evaluate the Inquisition movements out of their historical context; the evangelical aspects of Protestantism are sometimes caricatured. Too little appears in texts or courses of study on the exact nature of religious groups (either their differences or likenesses) or on the common concern of church groups with ethical and humanitarian developments.

11. *Analysis of prejudice.* Many teaching materials refer to the existence and influence of prejudices, but few guide the pupils into a psychological analysis of the nature of prejudice or indicate how prejudice may be eliminated or reduced. The courses of study provide little opportunity for the careful study of prejudice; only a few texts devote more than a passing glance at it. Yet study of the topic is an approach to human relations offering promise of effective results.

12. *Techniques of intergroup relations.* Almost no courses of study or textbooks present a sociological analysis of the methods of intergroup relations. For example, pupils will almost never be given opportunity to study the sociological nature and effects of segregation as a social technique. Indeed, no small number of texts imply the correctness of segregation—assume it as a value in social organization. The technique of scapegoating, of making one group the victim of a general illness, is not subjected to scrutiny. The analysis of such technique offers a fruitful field of increasing the resistance of citizens to the excesses of group relations.

13. *Common types of error.* As has been suggested, the greatest

weakness in our present teaching materials, as evaluated in the light of their bearing on intergroup relations, is that of omission of pertinent, often basic, information. This defect can be remedied only by alteration of the content, scope, and emphasis of many present-day courses of study; if these alterations can be made, substantial improvement in textbooks will follow. Another type of error, one of commission rather than omission, is that of *undue simplification* with resultant distortion of materials, especially in history textbooks. *Unwarranted generalization*, leading to distortion, is characteristic of many textual passages bearing on intergroup relations. Loose use of terms occurs too frequently; there should be more careful attention to such words as race and nationality. Emotionalized terms, some of them having the character of clichés and stereotypes, such as "half breed," "teeming hordes," "swarms of immigrants" should be more consistently avoided. These types of error, arising more from the author's unquestioned assumptions and his literary style, are matters to engage the attention of authors and editors, and should be considered by all school officers responsible for the selection of textbooks for school use.

Textbooks are not guilty of planned derogation of groups, but are guilty of failing to come to grips with basic issues in the complex problems of human relations. Much material essential to the understanding of intergroup relations and provocative of better relations is simply not presented to pupils. The fault lies not in texts alone but in the courses of study for which textbooks are prepared. Only as those courses of study demand the inclusion of topics on intergroup relations, some of which are inevitably controversial, will the textbooks be substantially improved. Curriculum-remaking is a prerequisite to the alteration of textbooks. That alteration involves, first, the writing of passages focused directly on the description and exposition of contemporary intergroup relations, and, second, careful scrutiny of the indirect references—often the casual assumptions lying behind the value-judgments—now in the textbooks. Such two-headed alteration would be a substantial contribution to education for intergroup relations in American life.

Part II

Individual Worth in a Democratic Society

WORTH of the individual citizen is the cardinal tenet of the American philosophy of democracy. Although the belief has not been universally applied, it is inherent in our goal, and the evolution of our social and legal systems has been in the direction of its attainment. The first question to be asked in this survey is: How clearly and positively is this idea expressed in the textbooks commonly used in our schools?

The answer to the question is not simple or easy to find. Individual worth runs through our national thought so pervasively that it is often assumed rather than explicitly stated. As an ideal it may be described in words in given textbooks for a given age of pupils, but to tabulate these descriptions—often mere exhortations—is not conclusive. If the ideal is consciously being taught by an author, it will appear on almost every page of his text, influencing his selection and presentation and interpretation of many aspects of our history or literature or civics. In the examination reported in this chapter, a number of particularly pertinent indexes of the author's, or the curriculum-maker's, conscious treatment of the ideal are analyzed. First, the direct statements about individual worth and dignity are examined; second, attention is given to the treatment accorded to personality growth and the conditioners of individual development; third, the textbook treatment of a number of the social safeguards of individual worth—such as civil liberties—is appraised; and fourth, the attention given to individual responsibility in a democratic society is surveyed. These four approaches to a complex problem, each presented in a section of this chapter, may be sufficient to warrant certain general conclusions and recommendations about the treatment of individual worth in teaching guides and textbooks for American schools.

The Value of the Individual as an Ideal

So intrinsically important was the individual thought to be by the framers of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitu-

tion's Bill of Rights that they sought to establish clearly his pre-eminence, and to secure and protect his well-being. The Declaration of Independence is based upon the conviction that men are "endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights." The sources for this view of the individual reach far back in history—into the Hebraic and Christian teachings, into political philosophy, into the evolution of law—and they are strengthened by the rise of scientific studies of social organization. Our American folkways and mores abound in assumptions that men are basically decent and deserve from one another decent treatment. Each individual is held to be important simply by virtue of his being a person.

Equality of opportunity to secure an education, to self-improvement, to a livelihood, to insurance against the major "risks of civilized living," is assumed in our philosophy. Reasonable security against social hazards, responsibility for right action, the right to individual expression of religious, aesthetic, and intellectual convictions are recognized as necessary to the realization of potentialities inherent in the individual. The ideal runs throughout our lives, even though it is not always realized in concrete action, and though violations of individual worth appear throughout the pages of our history. To this ideal the nation's schools owe a primary allegiance. Wiser and more systematic instruction about the ideal—never glossing over the difficulties of attaining it—may lead to its application on a universal scale. To the attitudes and knowledge and skills necessary on the part of individuals to safeguard the ideal, school instruction should be directed. To what degree do our teaching materials focus attention on the ideal and on its high status in the ideology of democratic life? Do we teach young Americans what this goal of our national life is, or do we assume that they acquire understanding of the ideal and devotion to it by some sort of osmosis in their development in an American setting?

One civics text, used in junior high schools, contains a clear and succinct passage on the fundamental principles of human worth. In the hands of a reasonably skillful teacher it provides an excellent point of departure for discussion of the matter. The passage says:

In a democracy, every human being is so important that his value cannot be measured in nonhuman terms. It is impossible to say that the life of one man is worth so many dollars or to measure the future

of a child in terms of money. The welfare of individuals is the most important thing in the world to believers in democracy. This leads to the democratic emphasis on aid to the underprivileged. It leads, likewise, to the democratic insistence on civil liberties. The liberty of the individual may be curtailed by a democratic government, but only for the sake of greater ultimate good to a greater number of individuals.

Unfortunately the passage is by no means typical. Of a total of twenty-eight civics books examined, only two contain such direct statements as the one quoted. Social studies books for the elementary school are no better. One such book contains the following statement, but even such hortatory passages are rare.

You are an individual. Every person is an individual. . . . there is nothing on earth more important than an individual. . . . You, as an individual, are of interest to others because you are a human being.

A modern-problems textbook, used in senior high schools stresses the importance of the individual in connection with a discussion of the problem of race relations in the United States. It says:

In the final analysis, an important part of the solution of this problem will rest in our ability to put into practice here our fundamental American idea of faith in the individual. . . . Moreover, if we as a nation express faith in the second-generation American or the Negro as an individual, we shall encourage him to become his best self, while at the same time assuring him opportunity to develop that self.

It is characteristic of the books in the modern-problems field that whatever statements are made about individual worth are made in connection with the discussion of minority groups. The basic principle of democracy is taught in a sort of remedial or negative context, rather than in positive assertion and general analysis of an ideal.

A somewhat different tone appears in passages from two anthologies used in senior high school classes. One says:

Since the only social energy is the energy of individuals, they [the American revolutionists] believed that if every man's energy were free there might be a changing and progressing human world. They thought it might be a happier world, since every man desires happiness.

Another emphasizes the value of knowing about individuals by saying:

. . . when with the aid of literature and history we venture in imagina-

tion back into the past, we instantly see that it contains for us a lesson valuable beyond compare. Persons are the most interesting and important things that the world has ever seen. If we would understand the past, we must understand the persons who made it.

These two statements are made in introducing literary selections to pupils and only to a limited extent do the selections themselves amplify their theme.

Courses of study are somewhat more difficult to appraise than texts since most of them are substantially directions to the teacher, outlines, or generalized descriptions of content. One course of study contains the following pertinent passage; which is well expanded in the course of study itself:

Democracy, as an ideal, is based upon the principle of recognition of the worth and dignity of the human personality, the principle that people are more important than things. It recognizes that every individual, regardless of race or creed, economic or cultural status, or mental capacity, is a person, who should be treated as an end in himself rather than as a means to an end. It implies the right of each individual to the greatest possible opportunity for the fullest development of his capacities. . . .

Catchwords or phrases occurring in courses of study include reference to "the supreme worth of the individual," or "the development of the inherent capacity of the individual" or the admonition that "consistent democracy requires that all institutions contribute to the development of the individual." In their unexpanded form, they do little either to sensitize the teacher or to instruct the pupils on the issue of individual worth.

These passages, chosen from among the total group of books examined, are presented as exceptional statements rather than as typical. The fact is that most books contain little direct description of the ideal of human worth; most of the references are indirect; generally it is assumed from the earliest grades that the pupil already believes in and understands the ideal, and that he is able and likely to read it into the generalized accounts in his various textbooks. It is doubtful that the assumption is warranted.

The general tendency of the textbooks, especially in the social studies is to treat humanity in the mass. This preoccupation with the groups that compose society results in very little explicit attention to the individual, even when societies or groups are organized

on the basis of the worth of the individual. Obviously, the individual is a member of many groups, and his role as a member of society is implied in the textbook discussions of the groups to which he belongs, but it is unfortunate that he is so commonly submerged in the whole. The chief concern of secondary school texts particularly is with larger social groups and issues. Ordinarily the relation of these large groups and broad issues to individual welfare is not adequately indicated. The student, when studying these accounts of groups, is likely to consider them as related remotely, if at all, to his personal interest and well-being. History is rarely personalized for the student. In a civics text a section on "Why the Constitution Was Made" centers its discussion on the weakness of the central government under the Articles of Confederation in performing such functions as collecting taxes, regulating interstate commerce, and establishing a system of courts. It is doubtless assumed that good performance of these functions aids the individual citizen but is never explained or even directly stated. This is typical of the lack of conscious, planned, systematic, continuous effort to clarify for pupils the ideal of individual worth. We may make clear that American government is by the people but we do not make clear that it is, in its general direction, equally *for* the people. At best, the rights and duties of citizens tend to be discussed in abstract and exhortatory terms, without much reference to their basic justification in individual worth.

There are in the texts as a whole very few statements which directly belittle the worth of the individual as a basic concept. It is when individuals are treated exclusively as members of groups, with the "type" of the group emphasized, that they are derogated. To say or to imply, for example, that a man is cruel because he is an Indian, or lazy because he is a Negro, or dishonest because he is a Jew, or that one is insignificant as a "black atom, drifting hither and thither" is not accurate or just or consonant with the principle of individual dignity. While instances of this sort occur, as will be discussed in later sections of this book, the texts are quite free from direct derogation of the principle itself.

It is extremely difficult to define and discuss the principle in terms which make it real for young citizens, but the difficulty is matched by the importance of doing so. The principle of individual worth is

under attack today in many sections of the world, and, if the principle is to survive, it must be clarified for pupils and made as crucial to them as it was for all those who have struggled to attain it in the past. There is need today, in textbooks and courses of study and supplementary teaching materials, for accounts of the basic tenet of democracy which make clear its central concept and make clear its relation to the ordinary processes of democratic living. The teaching materials now in use, and the courses of study for which they were prepared, are not now adequate for the task.

Individual Growth and Personality Development

If pupils are to be sufficiently sensitive to the value of an individual and to the means for cherishing individual welfare, they must understand a good deal about the nature of individuality and the process of individual growth and development. During recent decades researches in psychology, physiology, and sociology have taught us much about "what it means to be a human being." Has this information yet found its way into the school curriculum? Are pupils made aware of the psychological effects of insecurity on the individual personality, for example? Do they learn the rudiments of mental health? Do they study the adjustments between individual growth and the social setting? Much that is now known about personality and the conditions of individual growth is understandable for secondary school pupils. Knowledge in this field may be an asset in the maintenance of individual worth and in the cultivation of healthy intergroup relations.

Attention in this chapter is focused on the "person," or on "personality" defined as "the sum total of the characteristics of an individual." The individual, with inherent potentialities, is shaped in a social situation. Rejection or acceptance by others, security or insecurity, condition the growth of a personality. The physical characteristics of an individual, partly because they affect his relations with other people, condition his psychological growth. Skin color or head form or shape of nose may become stigmata producing personality distortion because of their social influence rather than for any purely physiological reason. It is obvious that the treatment accorded an individual by his fellows conditions his own growth; it may thwart or may stimulate the maturation of his potential abili-

ties. Knowledge of the nature of personality and the conditions of its favorable growth has a direct relationship to many of the problems of intergroup relations in modern life.

How do the textbooks deal with personality? For the most part the texts ignore the subject. Most of the materials on the subject are to be found in "social problems" texts, introductory sociology texts, and anthologies of literature. A limited number of references appear in civics texts, especially those dealing with social civics used on the junior high school level. Ordinarily when personality is treated at all, only such topics are dealt with as how to develop personal charm, manners of dress and speech, the social graces, and conversational ability. The very term "personality" is distorted away from its technical meaning. How to develop a pleasing personality, how to "win friends and influence people," and how to capitalize on individual traits form the keynote of most of the discussions. The following is illustrative:

Because you are destined to be associated with other human beings you will want to possess a pleasing personality. You will want personal charm so that you will make yourself acceptable, socially, to human beings around you. . . . [Personality] can be described as traits, or characteristics, in human nature. . . . People who possess charm and power of personality have pleasing traits in their natures. To have a pleasing personality is to be a likeable, acceptable person.

The weight thus ascribed to personal charm is no small one. To present charm as a *sine qua non* for acceptability by other human beings without mention of the intrinsic value of the human personality itself would seem to render almost meaningless the principles of human dignity and individual worth. In the above quotation nothing is said about the fundamentals of human personality. A similar approach is made in the following lines:

Your personality might be described as the sum total of your interests, capacities, and attitudes as they affect your relations with other people at any given time.

When you meet people, they react to your personality. If it is attractive and interesting, they will want to see more of you; if not, they may not care whether they ever see you again, or what is worse, may hope that they will never have to spend an hour with you. When you apply for a job, the employer will consider not only your training and ability to do the work, but also your personality.

And another quotation in a like vein:

One of the best ways of broadening and deepening your personality and becoming more alert mentally is to develop a wide variety of interests. If you are interested in and know something about a number of things, you will be able to talk and listen intelligently in many different groups. When you widen your interests you may also discover some field in which you have special ability not previously suspected.

. . . . You can enlarge your friendships, enrich your own personality, and increase your popularity by consciously trying to develop the habits and qualities that most people look for in their contacts with others.

Neither of the above statements observes in personality any problem other than the need to shape it for purposes of getting along with people. Yet these are typical of such discussions of personality as appear in the textbooks. Very rarely does a book indicate that "Personality is not something you can put on or take off as you can a suit or a dress. It is the person you actually are." And even less frequently are the conditions of personality development described. There is virtually no direct presentation to pupils of the scientific data about personality, which might really affect their relations with other human beings. For this omission the textbooks are no more to be blamed than curriculum-makers, teachers, and school authorities. The lag between the discovery by scholars of information about personality growth and its inclusion in the school curriculum is unfortunately great. The importance of intergroup education in current crucial years warrants more direct and immediate attention to these matters in the instruction of young children.

Somewhat more constructive attention to personality is given in the literary anthologies, although the scientific foundations for study of personality are not included. In the anthologies undue emphasis is placed on the unique and unusual in human personality. Sections of anthologies entitled "Interesting People," "Hero Tales," and "These Are Our People" tend to stress glamorous or unique personalities. One literary anthology, however, in an introduction to a unit on "Personality and Character Traits," warns the reader about the superficial aspects of personality. The introduction contains the following statement:

A sound-appearing tree with a rotten heart resembles too many persons in the world about us. Such persons are pleasing to meet. They talk well, and they frequently achieve a temporary success because of

their attractive exteriors. But soon or late these pleasing persons will be forced to face a test that will reveal their lack of solid character. Their weakness of character is caused by their exclusive concern with external traits and their failure to cultivate those deeply hidden qualities upon which man's value to society must be based.

Yet even this statement deals only with the qualities of personality, and not with the delicate psychological mechanisms of the individual human organism.

One leaves the textbooks examined in this survey not much wiser about the true nature of personality and the conditions which affect its development. The influence on human personality of group membership, of stereotyping, of home and community tensions, is not explained in our widely used teaching materials. Such understanding as the graduates of our school possess of the psychological forces existing in each individual and influenced by environment, group status, passive persecution, and the like, is not traceable to the textbooks they use.

Like the texts, the courses of study are primarily concerned with what an individual can do to develop his personality in order to make himself likeable and accepted. Less than one-fourth of the courses of study examined indicate any relationship between the way human personality grows and the preservation of individual worth and dignity. The following statement recognizes the dignity of personality and the worth of the individual, while observing his relationship to the group. It is satisfactory as far as it goes, but it does not suggest scientific study by which pupils may be sensitized to the qualities or defects of others.

All people who recognize and acknowledge the sacredness and dignity of personality believe there are certain areas in man's living in which he should be permitted to make his own judgments, decisions, and choices for the highest development and freeing of self. Although he must be allowed to maintain his position as an individual in the group, he must also assume his attendant responsibilities within each group.

This particular course of study deals with personality in terms of the worth and dignity of the individual; others generally fail to do so. The great majority neglect to give consideration to the cultural influences and social forces which vitally affect personality growth. Their main concern is with what the individual can do for himself

in terms of personality development; little or no attention is given to the social conditions under which personality develops. They fail effectively to relate social, political, and economic influences to the shaping of personality.

If the assumption which underlies this analysis is correct—namely, that knowledge of the nature of personality and of the way it is shaped by social environment out of inherited potentialities is likely to help make individuals more sensitive to, and regardful of, other individuals—then one of the major needs in American education for democratic relations is to have included in the course of study scientific data about human personality. The superficial materials now taught under this term are of slight consequence compared with what might be taught. The concept of personality growth and basic scientific data about it need to be considered by curriculum-makers as substantive content for the course of study. And the preparation of teaching materials in the field should be begun at the earliest opportunity. In neglecting this area of psychology we are missing an opportunity for improved education in human relations, an integral phase of education for constructive intergroup relations.

Democratic Safeguards of Individual Welfare

An individual has high value in the democratic way of life. It is characteristic of a democratic society that it develops and establishes ways of protecting the individual against injustice and of guaranteeing him certain rights and privileges along with equivalent responsibilities. The story of civil liberties as established in law is the story of such a way of protecting the rights—and emphasizing the duties of freedom—of an individual. The rise of public education is an evidence of democracy's insistence on equality of opportunity to learn. Through public health services and systems of social security the individual is insured so far as possible against ill health and economic distress. The franchise is, of course, a basic guarantee for individual participation in the process of government. These—the civil liberties, public education, health and social insurance services, and the ballot—are safeguards of individual welfare, rooted in our history, characteristic of our political organization. Is the value of these safeguards, the relation they bear to individual worth, adequately

presented to pupils? One index of the treatment of individual worth and dignity in our educational program will be found in the treatment accorded these safeguards. All of them are dealt with in greater or less degree in our histories and anthologies and civics and modern-problems books. Are the treatments impregnated with the philosophy of individual worth?

Civil liberties

Probably no pupil can progress through the grades of the American school system without studying, in some fashion, several times about the civil liberties. He reads of them in connection with the formation and adoption of the federal Constitution; he finds references to them frequently in the histories of the United States, in civics textbooks, and in some of the literary anthologies.

Ordinarily it is the protective aspect of civil liberties that is emphasized for pupils. One passage, typical in tone, says:

To those persons who are accused of crimes the Constitution guarantees certain specific rights, that those who can may prove their innocence and that those who are guilty may not receive unjust punishment. . . . These rights are especially for the protection of innocent persons and are an important part of our democracy. . . . Our government will protect and safeguard human life in every way possible.

Another passage has something of the same spirit, stressing what cannot be done to an individual rather than what he can do for himself. So far as it goes the passage is an excellent summary.

The individual citizen has many domestic rights. His house is protected against unreasonable searches and seizures. He cannot be arrested without a warrant unless he is caught in the act of committing a crime. He cannot be made the victim of an *ex post facto* law. . . . He cannot be held indefinitely in prison without having the reason for his detention passed upon by a judge. This is known as the right of *habeas corpus*. He cannot be convicted by a *bill of attainder*. . . . He can use the courts to secure justice. . . . He can demand the protection of his country while abroad.

These passages present primarily the protective aspect of civil liberty. It would seem desirable also to emphasize more strongly that civil liberty provides increased opportunity for individuals to

acquire full stature, that the liberties give them access to information, freedom for discussion and assembly, freedom for expression, freedom for worship. Democratic society, through its legal establishment of civil liberties, safeguards individual welfare through more than protection. Individual welfare is bulwarked by the provision of affirmative opportunity for individual growth—and to this affirmative side the teaching materials, for the most part, do not accord just emphasis.

In the same way the responsibilities concomitant with liberties are not often stressed, and even when mentioned it is usually done in an unfortunately hortatory manner. The right to learn implies a responsibility for learning on the part of the individual if the democratic system is to succeed; the right to speak is followed by the obligation to share in the formation of public opinion, the right to vote by the obligation of casting a ballot. The responsibilities of a man who would be free are not ordinarily and adequately emphasized in the teaching materials.

The chief pedagogical defect of most of the discussion of civil liberties is its abstract character. The liberties are almost never personalized; their basic importance to the individual reader of the textbooks is implied rather than explained. It is doubtful that young readers of the passages quoted above are moved to deep realization of the direct importance to them of the rights and privileges which are enumerated. The use of case studies, particularly of instances directly within the range of experience of the pupils toward whom the materials are directed, would seem to be a promising line of curriculum experimentation. The nonexistence of the civil liberties and the pitiless disregard of human rights over large areas of our contemporary world afford illustrations difficult to avoid. The attempts of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations to formulate a universal statement of human rights present an opportunity for instruction in this field. We need to personalize and attach deep loyalties to liberties which are too casually taken for granted by American pupils. Until that is done our instruction on the matter of civil liberties will not be very effective, and certainly will not bring into clear relief the basic relation of civil liberty to individual worth and dignity.

Public education

The extent to which education is made available for all is one of the major achievements in the development of the United States. A part of our devotion to free public education for all arises from the relation of educational opportunity to individual welfare. The conviction that each individual deserves an opportunity to learn in his own interest, as well as in the interest of society, undergirds our belief in education. Is the story of American education told to pupils? Is it told in such fashion as to demonstrate that our educational system is one of our primary safeguards of individual worth and value?

Education, and the rise of public schools, are discussed for pupils in the textbooks of a number of subject fields, particularly in the civics textbooks (which often contain a chapter on the school as a social institution), and in modern-problems books. Historical material on the rise of our school system is summarized in most of the history textbooks; descriptive material about educational processes or achievements appears in most anthologies. In general, the discussions are of institutions rather than of the values of education; where the values are discussed they are likely to be abstract—except in the biographical materials on outstanding Americans which emphasize the personal values of a functional education.

Education is ordinarily described primarily in terms of the need for intelligent citizens in order that democracy in the abstract may profit. Such a view is expressed in the following lines:

Democracy can succeed only when its citizens are intelligent and well-educated so that they may decide how to vote for the best persons and how to choose the wisest policies for our government to follow.

The importance of education is conceived to lie in the need for an effective democracy; the importance of the democracy, partly because it gives the individual opportunity through education to grow to his full stature, is implied, not stated. The fact that our schools are relatively free to all citizens is pointed out, but without adequate explanation of why they are free. The school is not seen as an agency whose origin and support lie in democratic faith in the individual. While most of the accounts of schools and education found

in the textbooks are factually correct and excellent in their treatment of the school as a social institution, the theme of the school's service to individuals—a theme heavily pronounced in professional literature on education—is not emphasized in the books.

Social legislation

One course of study which was examined contains the following statement on the conservation of human resources in a democracy:

With the development of democracy in the United States there has been an accompanying growth in society's interest in the welfare of the individual and the conservation of human resources. . . . In former times efforts to improve human welfare were made on a relatively small scale by individual philanthropists and by private agencies. Now the problem of social welfare has become too great to be handled through unorganized philanthropic efforts and has, therefore, come under the direction of the government; the formulation of policies and the financing of projects for group welfare become the concern and responsibility of every citizen.

The first part of the statement emphasized the relation of measures of social security to democracy; the second, the relation of such measures to government action. The statement is more specific as to values than appears in most texts; it is doubtful that the instruction ordinarily provided for pupils would furnish them essential background and information for careful analysis of the assumptions inherent in the passage.

The history and civics textbooks commonly used refer repeatedly to measures taken for the welfare of individuals—such matters as the provision of public health services, insurance and assurance systems, pension arrangements, legislation affecting hours and conditions of labor, retirement arrangements, and the provisions of the federal Social Security Act. The emphasis in these references is on institutional or legal matters, rarely on the value-judgments involved in systems of social security. Discussions of social security usually consist of descriptions—excellent so far as they go—of the historical development, the legal provisions, and the operation of the federal Security Act and other such measures. Discussion of public health deals with the social and industrial effects of disease and accident, and with institutional measures for improving public

health—not with the value of health to the individual himself. The operation of the Public Health Service is described, but its relation to democratic principles is not referred to. In a sense, in this as in other matters of social security, school programs provide descriptive information but not the basic value-judgments which are the criteria against which every measure of social security must be judged. The quotation which introduces the chapter on health in an older civics textbook—"Health is the first of all liberties"—strikes a note conspicuous by its absence from the majority of textbook accounts.

The weakness in the textbook accounts is one of omission and lack of emphasis, rather than of opposition to, or unawareness of, the relation of social security measures to individual welfare. The assumption seems to be that this relationship is so obvious that it does not need emphasis. The thesis advanced here is that the relationship is not so obvious to young readers whose concepts of democracy are in process of formation, as we might think. If the central role of individual worth in the philosophy of democracy is to be impressed upon pupils, the textbook writers should point out that role more explicitly on their pages. Especially should the point be emphasized in treating, in an explanatory fashion, such safeguards of individual welfare as the measures for social security.

The franchise

The right to vote is a central safeguard in the democratic process. It is the foundation of representation of the individual in governmental action. The right is one for which many generations struggled; attainment of the right for property-holders, for all male white citizens, for women, for Negroes, was marked by definite political action which can be taught to pupils and understood by them. The right is discussed by all textbooks in American history, civics, and modern problems—in some books briefly, in others at length.

Briefer accounts in the civics and modern problems books usually point out that voting is a right guaranteed by the Constitution, and frequently add that it is also a duty of the citizen. Longer accounts include consideration of voting as a right and a duty, indicate the steps by which the franchise has been extended, and touch upon its significance. But even the latter very rarely describe the franchise as a protection for the individual. It is assumed to be important be-

cause it is one of the means by which continuance of the "democratic way of life" can be achieved. But the meaning of the democratic way of life is not often discussed, even in this connection. The treatment of the franchise is invariably on an abstract, impersonal, institutional level.

In American history textbooks references to the franchise are scattered, ranging from one-line allusions to longer discussions on each of the constitutional amendments affecting the right to vote. Though these discussions may be several paragraphs in length, they are seldom more than descriptive accounts of the amendments themselves, and fail to deal with the underlying meaning of the franchise or its relations to individual welfare. Elementary and junior high school history textbooks cannot be differentiated in this respect from those on the high school level, except that they are written more simply. Neither group relates the franchise to a basic faith in the individual, concern for his welfare, or a pervading belief in his worth.

The unfortunate neglect of the right to ballot, which characterizes substantial numbers of citizens in every election—local, state, and federal—in the United States, is evidence that the relation between voting and the safeguarding of individual welfare is not clear or convincing to many people. The mass manipulation of votes which characterizes "elections" under dictatorial governments, the abridgement of the right of certain minorities in the United States to vote, and the denial of the vote to large "opposition" groups in oligarchical countries alike attest the importance of the ballot to the individual and, through him, to the democratic process. While many causes for the failure to vote lie in the circumstances of adult life, school education has a certain responsibility for the situation. It would be the part of wisdom to present the franchise to American pupils in the setting of its values to the individual, rather than only as an abstract civic operation.

It should be emphasized again that the criticism here directed at textbooks and courses of study is not for their omission of treatment of such safeguards of individual welfare as the civil liberties, public education, social security, and the franchise. These topics are all treated in the books and in the courses, particularly in the social studies. Much of the material presented to pupils is excellent.

The criticism is that not enough emphasis is given to clarifying for pupils the relationship of these matters to individual welfare. The civil liberties, education, social security, and the franchise are not really treated as *safeguards* in the texts, but as institutions or abstractions, the value of which is assumed and accepted. It is the conviction of this survey that more direct presentation of the *safeguard* value of these achievements of democracy would be advantageous in enabling pupils to understand more clearly the desirable status of the individual in American society. The basic values cannot safely be left to possible inference either of teachers or pupils.

Individual Responsibility in a Democratic Society

The point of view presented in this chapter, emphasizing as it does the value of the individual, does not imply any emphasis of irresponsible individuality. The individual in a democracy assumes responsibilities commensurate with his freedom—such as the responsibility to use his freedom to learn or to vote, and to safeguard the rights of others. It is the individual's responsibility to respect and cherish and defend the rights of others, and to make the greatest possible use of his own capacities and opportunities. Unless the resources of all individuals in a democratic society are so released, the society itself is not strong; unless democratic societies are strong—that is, unless individuals assume their full rights and responsibilities—they may be engulfed in a rising tide of dictatorship, in which a few strong men control, by fair means or foul, the great majority. Teaching materials which make convincingly clear that each individual in a democracy has a responsible allegiance to that society and an obligation to “pull his own load” in it are needed in the crisis through which this and other nations are now passing.

As has already been suggested, most of the civics or citizenship textbooks and the modern-problems books give a considerable amount of attention to the duties of citizenship. Unfortunately, however, these passages are general, abstract, and hortatory, not convincingly personalized and not clear in relating duties to individual welfare. A passage typical of the better accounts is as follows:

But citizenship involves duties, obligations, and responsibilities. What

are some of the duties of the American citizen? He should respect his country. He should love its flag. He should be loyal to it in time of peace and be prepared to defend it when it needs his help. . . . He should respect and obey the laws of the community in which he lives and the authority of the officials set up in office. He should respect the rights of all other persons. . . . He should cooperate with local, state, and national projects which stand for progress and are dependent for their success upon the cooperation of the citizen body. . . . There is nothing so vital to the progress of our nation as the citizen who understands and appreciates his rights and duties of citizenship at all times.

Such terms as "respect" and "obey" get at only the routine aspects of individual responsibility. At what point does a responsible citizen whose government is being taken over by a dictatorial minority stop being respectful and obedient? Respect and obedience were hardly worthy attributes for young or old citizens in Nazi-overrun territories. Responsibility for being a citizen in a democracy is not passive, but energetic; it seeks continual improvement in the direction of full application of democracy's tenets. Such a concept of responsibility is rarely presented to pupils through the usual teaching materials.

The Nazi and Fascist governments taught that the nation is all-important, individuals only servants of the state. American democracy gives the individual higher place. We hold that the progress of the nation as a whole is important primarily because it means in the long run benefits to the individuals who make it up. Emphasis on this point would be well placed. Such a passage as the one quoted above emphasizes duties and responsibilities, but without relating them to ultimate returns for the individual.

Very little is done in the civics textbooks to show in what ways social gains are also individual gains. While personal sacrifice is at times demanded of the individual, his response to a need for it comes most readily when his own individual good is demonstrably involved in the social good. Each type of reward tends to subserve the other. One cannot find in history a more shocking example of the violation of this principle of the interrelation between personal and group benefits than the denial of personal worth in sacrifices for the state demanded by the Nazi ethos. Our American philosophy deserves a more balanced treatment than that usually accorded it in textbooks.

The literary anthologies contribute somewhat more to the de-

velopment in pupils of the ethics of personal behavior in a democratic society. The biographical materials about individuals who took their civic responsibilities seriously are stimulating and valuable because they teach by example rather than by admonition alone. More carefully focused selections from literature, especially those illustrating civic virtue in ordinary circumstances, would be appropriate. It is in the study of literature that much can be accomplished, not only in demonstrating responsible action in a democratic setting but also in explaining the nature of individuality and the growth of personality.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Prolonged analysis of textbooks and courses of study and of their relation to the complex tasks of education for constructive inter-group education has convinced those responsible for this study of two basic conclusions:

1. It is a responsibility of education to emphasize the concept of individual worth and dignity because that concept lies at the heart of the theory of democracy and is essential for the establishment of good relationships among individuals from all groups in a complex society such as ours.

2. The teaching materials and outlines commonly used in our elementary and secondary schools do not present a clear and convincing picture for pupils of the role of the individual in a democratic society, of his duties and responsibilities, and of the nature of personality growth and adjustment.

The first of these conclusions is an assumption upon which this entire survey rests and is a criterion for the analysis of textbooks and courses of study. It is a conviction that this principle should be systematically borne in mind and emphasized by all who teach. The statement of the principle as a concern of education is a recommendation particularly to makers of the courses of study in our schools and, secondarily, to the authors of textbooks and other teaching materials.

In this chapter certain observations about the content of teaching materials have been made, based both upon direct statements in the texts and on the quality or emphasis of the statements. Nothing directly derogatory to the principle of individual worth has been

noted, but, on the other hand, too little direct concern or conscious emphasis of the principle has been found. The few passages directly on the principle are exhortatory and abstract. The principle is implicit in the treatment of public education, and of certain social safeguards of individual welfare which have been examined, but is not made clear or convincing for pupils. The chief omission, however, lies in the neglect of psychological and sociological data about the nature of an individual and the conditions of his growth. In such study of personality as pupils are exposed to, the approach is superficial and distorted.

Certain recommendations, addressed even more to makers of school curriculums than to textbook writers, follow from these assumptions and conclusions. It is recommended that the principle of individual worth be more heavily emphasized, both directly and indirectly, in the selection and presentation of subject matter. Many of the social achievements of a democratic society are based on this value to individual citizens; this should be more consistently emphasized, especially in such matters as the rise of public education, the establishment in law of basic civil liberties and the growth of agencies for safeguarding public health and for safeguarding welfare through social security. In all textbook treatment, a careful balance should be maintained between the rights and the responsibilities of an individual, with penetrating, rather than superficial, analysis of the responsibilities democracy places upon the individual. And it is strongly recommended that alert school systems and publishing houses direct the preparation of teaching guides and materials involving scientific study of individual personality and its growth. The insertion in school curriculums of the elementary materials from psychology, sociology, biology, and anthropology on the nature of the individual and on the conditioners of his growth to a psychologically mature and balanced person is one of the most promising lines of experimentation for schools sincerely interested in education for intergroup relations. Intergroup relations can only be wise and constructive if they are based upon full recognition of individual worth and dignity in the democratic way of life.

Groups in a Democratic Society

THE PRECEDING chapter, grounded in the ethical concept of individual worth, emphasized the educational value of psychological analyses of personality as content material for school programs directed toward education for intergroup relations. The present chapter moves from the areas of psychology into those of sociology, and stresses analysis in terms of *group* structure and *group* relations in a democratic society. Throughout the preceding discussion the importance of groups as conditioners of individual growth and development has been recognized. In this chapter the treatment accorded in texts and courses of study to the following four topics will be analyzed:

1. The status and function of groups in American society.
2. The internal structure of a group, with particular reference to the norm or type of the group and to the range of individual variations among its members.
3. The prevailing theories of intergroup relations, with emphasis on the concepts of cultural pluralism and "Americanization."
4. Certain techniques of intergroup relations, extending from friendly cooperation to segregation and scapegoating.

In connection with each of these topics the point of view from which the survey has been conducted will be explained, and the most pertinent materials in textbooks and courses of study appraised. The topics themselves and the passages examined are, of course, only a sampling of a wider range of materials bearing on the sociological analysis of group life.

It should again be emphasized that the basic assumptions and points of view presented in this chapter as background or criteria for the analysis of teaching materials are in themselves even more important to the curriculum-makers than are the data about the content of textbooks. The point of view animating the chapter should itself be examined by those responsible for what is taught in schools. It is the conviction of the survey staff that individuals who understand the nature of groups and their place in our society are by that

knowledge equipped more adequately for the role of citizen in the United States. Sociological concepts—many of which, it may be agreed at the outset, are tentative in their formulation and have not yet found their way into school courses of study—are useful in a good program of education for intergroup relations. To analysis of some of these concepts, this chapter is devoted.

Groups in American Life

Later chapters of this survey will report in more detail the treatment accorded specific ethnic, racial, and religious groups in the American population. The present analysis is of more general nature; it asks "Are pupils taught about the pattern of group organization in our society?" It deals with elementary sociological concepts which provide perspective for the later study of specific groups.

One approach to the study of society is through the groups which are its constituent elements. They are the chief elements in the social process. The groups to which each individual belongs condition his own development and, at the same time, are his chief means of affecting social action. There are, of course, many kinds of groups. Individuals are born into certain groups—groups based on race or national or regional origin. From these "natural" groups there is, ordinarily, no escape for the individual; he is involuntarily a member, and finds himself affected at every turn by the status of the group. Individuals are born into certain regional or local groups and into a loosely defined economic or social class, but membership here may be altered, either by individual action or by forces over which the individual has no control. Other groupings are purely voluntary, such as membership in a church or in a political party. All these groupings have a considerable continuity, with membership affecting the individual markedly. Other groups are relatively ephemeral, coalescing for a moment and then dissolving; others are hardly more than statistical aggregations of individuals.

The larger and more definitely formed groups are units of action in American society. An individual affects the broad social process in so far as he influences groups and stimulates them into activity. Political life is based not only on membership in large political parties, but on the continual struggle for pre-eminence of smaller

groups within those parties. The candidate for office maneuvers—honestly or dishonestly—to secure the support of this or that group. He speaks of the “church vote,” the “farm vote,” the “Italian vote,” the “Jewish vote,” the “labor vote,” or the “school vote.” Most social movements or reforms are spearheaded by groups which, in turn, stimulate others into action. The story of American labor is that of a succession of groups organized around the interests of laboring men. A college professor joins a group devoted to his field of concentration—his professional society—as well as a faculty group, and civic, social, and political groups. Each of these groups is an instrument of action, a means of exerting influence on the total course of events.

The sociologists and anthropologists have traced certain patterns of intergroup relations, the elements of which are quite understandable by secondary school pupils. Individuals, obviously, belong to many groups, yet some groups affect them much more intimately than others. Primary groups, which give their members their values and determine their social orientation, may be distinguished from secondary groups, where less intimate relations exist and where individuals strive to use the group for their own purposes. “In-groups,” with a secure sense of belonging, are arrayed against “out-groups” of strangers. To understand the basic pattern of these group relations is to be better equipped for constructive membership in the total society.

The kaleidoscopic multigroup character of American life is pronounced; we are a nation of “joiners.” Our history is a struggle, more or less intense, among these groups. Our political, social, economic, and cultural life is basically the story of these groups and their interrelations. They form the pattern of our national life; they are the elements of the democratic process; they condition the growth of their members, and are the individual’s instruments for influencing the course of events.

How much are pupils taught about groups and about the pattern of group relations in American society? The answer is not very encouraging. Of fifty courses of study which were examined, only about a third attempted a sociological explanation of human society, and in only four of these was there a genuine effort to impart to pupils a systematic idea of the nature of groups and their function in

our society. The textbooks, as would be expected, are not better than the courses of study. The modern-problems textbooks contain more material on the matter than the texts of any other subject. Most of the problems texts which are not exclusively political or economic in character have chapters under such titles as "The Importance of Group Life" or "Why Men Live in Groups." However, only about 10 percent of the problems texts examined present basic scientific analyses of group structure and function in a comprehensive manner. The texts are particularly deficient in explaining a classification of groups; they deal more with group influences on the individual than with the role of groups in the social process. One has to conclude that the basic concepts concerning groups which may be drawn from sociology and anthropology, and which might well be explained in courses in social history or in social civics, are not adequately presented to pupils. Descriptive material about American society would be much more meaningful to a pupil than it now is, were he provided some form of intellectual conception of the nature of groups and their place in society. It is strongly recommended by those who have conducted this study that schools which are concerned with education for good intergroup relations should experiment with systematic instruction about the basic concept of groups in society.

What a Group Is

In addition to the role of the group in society, pupils may well study systematically the precise nature or internal structure of a group. In analyzing groups the first concept to be studied is the group *norm*. We ordinarily think of groups in terms of their supposedly *typical* members—and yet the typical member may be an abstraction, not actually existent, a collection of statistical qualities. Loose thinking about a group norm is responsible for many of the injustices of stereotyping. Clearer thinking about the typical member of a group, how he is determined, and the extent to which variation from that norm occurs, is a basic quality in healthy intergroup relations.

While the norm of any group is ordinarily an abstraction, the conception of a norm provides a useful scheme for thinking about groups under certain circumstances. There may be no normatively

exact member of a group, but each member is an approximation, in *greater or less degree*, of the statistically typical member. This legitimate conception and use of the norm is distinguished from stereotyping by constant realization of its fictional elements and its use solely as an intellectual tool. In stereotyping, the norm is presumptively an absolute, a fact, and the wide and frequent departures from it which actually exist are stubbornly ignored. In stereotyping, the norm has ethical implications, either good or bad. It is where ethical judgments are based on the norm but applied to all individuals that harm is done.

The norm is usually what we think of when we think of a given group.¹ There are, indeed, a few contexts in which the norm of the group, if it is accurate, is all that is necessary. We are not concerned with anything but the identity of the group in the following factual statement, for example: "Nurses Needed in War Effort." But such a view, in most cases, too largely ignores human differences. Thinking in evaluative terms of identical units within a group is a dangerous tendency which does violence to our conception of individual worth. Certainly the casual identification of all members of a group with its norm should be avoided. A group name, depending upon the context in which it is used, can be a tool or a trap. Consider the norm in the following statement: "Isn't that just like a landlord!" If one begins by conceiving of landlords as people who exploit their tenants, then, even if variation among them is admitted, the best one can grant is that some landlords exploit tenants less than others.

The definition of a group must be exact, one that penetrates to the true meaning of the group's activities. The definition of "labor leaders" begins to be inexact when value-judgments, based on a supposed norm, are applied to all. What is it that constitutes a Jew? Do students think of "Wall Street" as symbolizing the activities of all bankers? The concept of a norm must be carefully restricted if it is to be useful, and if it is not to lead easily and sloppily into stereotyping.

An intelligent use of the concept of a group must take into consideration not only the variation that exists within a given group

¹ See R. M. MacIver, "The Power of Group Images" in *The American Scholar*, Vol. XIV, Spring 1945, for a discussion of the prevalence of, and dangers in, mis-conceiving the nature of groups.

but also the changes that occur in a group as time passes. There are those who dislike the Catholic Church today because of activities which took place in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Jews are often condemned on a "norm" derived from events of 2,000 years ago. A Northerner is viewed askance by some Southerners today because of events which took place two and three generations ago, and the same is true of the attitude of some Northerners toward Southerners. The norm concept of a Negro today is, for many persons, built on the history of a race in bondage.

Groups coalesce, grow, change, become institutionalized if they endure, or decline and disintegrate. This process is intimately related to the variation of individuals within groups, for it is often by means of these variations that groups change. A group change is effected by the struggle for dominance within it of subgroups. A group, large or small, is dynamic. It reflects the demands and desires of individuals. It has a trajectory, a direction of movement, and any adequate judgment about it must recognize that it evolves and develops over a span of time. A norm based on current statistical qualities has limited usefulness as an intellectual tool; a norm based upon remote events is, in the light of continuing evolution of groups, almost certainly misleading.

How much variation and what quality of variation are allowed for individual members of the group by those who picture the group in terms of a norm? Here the danger of misconception is great. When any social group is thought of in terms of its norm alone, no matter how adequate that norm may be, individual variations are ignored. When these variations are thus overlooked, many persons are prone to conclude that since norms can be derived for Negroes, or Spanish-Americans, or educators, or artists, every Negro or Spanish-American or educator or artist is adequately described by that norm. In this way stereotypes are set up. All groups are made up of individuals who by no means surrender their individuality when they become members.

Most important, in regard to wide divergence from the norm, are religious, racial, and ethnic groups. Although the variation among individuals grouped under these headings is enormous, the behavior of others toward them is often deeply conditioned by a rigid idea of what the norm of such a group must be. So great are

variations among Jews, for example, according to creed, class, occupation, temperament, politics, participation in Jewish life, intelligence, or almost any other quality one could mention, that for most purposes it is sheer folly to group them at all. Legitimate and useful purposes may sometimes be served by thinking of them collectively, but these occasions are limited in number and should be scrupulously weighed.

The complexities of group structure, the derivation and limitation of norms, and the range of differences within groups are rarely mentioned in the courses of study which were examined. Among the widely used problems and civics texts, none was found to discuss the importance of adequate definition and classification of groups. Several approach the point, but obliquely and in scattered references. Several authors misuse group names by overlooking the points emphasized in this discussion. For example:

The inhabitants of the United States who are not citizens, or who are not in the process of becoming naturalized, are called *aliens*. Aliens are foreign-born men and women who retain their loyalty to some other nation while living here, or else claim loyalty to no nation.

In the first sentence quoted, a norm is established in terms of a usable definition. In the second sentence the value-judgments lead to confusion of some individuals with the total group, to a false norm, to stereotyping. This type of error occurs all too frequently in the texts. One author gives an indirect word of caution against careless establishment of group norms in the following statement, but his example is not widely enough followed:

However, all persons who happen to commit a crime are not necessarily criminals; again, certain acts which have been listed as crimes at one time are not so considered at another.

In the following passage, the authors attempt to show the disparate origins of the American people, but the oversimplification and romanticization of the norms used are likely to create stereotyped impressions—either favorable or unfavorable—which may lead the pupil into difficulties, and certainly do not clarify his thinking. Are all Filipinos quick-witted, all Scandinavians sturdy, all Scots dour? The unqualified use of norms such as these is characteristic of our textbooks and courses of study.

So long as we are all loyal Americans, we need to cherish the songs

the Italians have brought us, the architecture from "New Spain," the thrift of the Scots, the sturdiness of the Scandinavians, the quickness of the Filipinos. As one writer has said: "Our roots reach back to the steppes of Russia, the plains of Greece, which Plato knew, mysterious Turkey, sunny Italy, colorful France, conglomerate Austria-Hungary, pageant-like central Europe, teeming Germany, thrifty Holland, Belgium, and Denmark, well-poised Scandinavia, dour Scotland, stubborn England, distinctive Wales, eerie Ireland, troubled Spain, friendly Canada, strange Japan, old China, and struggling Mexico.

The use of descriptive adjectives such as abound in this paragraph—sometimes benign, sometimes malicious—is characteristic of the general treatment of groups in terms of norms which is to be found in the textbooks. The normative concept, whether based on casual impression or scientific evidence, is rarely questioned. The deficiency in explanation of norms and in the analysis of range of differences within groups would seem to reinforce the general tendencies in society toward undue simplification of social concepts in terms of norms leading to stereotypes. Further evidence on this point will be found in the discussions of the treatment of specific groups in later chapters of this report.

The sociological material about group structure and group relations has not found its way on any appreciable scale into the teaching materials which have been examined. It appears too frequently true, also, that the elementary concepts of sociology and social psychology and anthropology are not adequately known to authors of textbooks and courses of study; a greater sensitivity to these concepts, to their implications in general textbook accounts of social affairs, and to their systematic explanation to young citizens, would seem desirable.

Cultural Democracy and Group Relations

The history of the United States is in part the story of succeeding groups of immigrants arriving in America and being, in some fashion, fitted into the emerging pattern of American life. What are pupils taught about the relation of these groups to one another, about the adjustments between old, established groups and those relatively newly arrived? Inherent in the answer to the question are the concepts of assimilation, Americanization, the "melting pot,"

and cultural democracy—or the perfection and conservation of group differences within the total unity of a national society.

An absurdly simple concept of society is that of complete uniformity among its members. Obviously such uniformity does not exist even within well-integrated groups. Yet the simpler concept has exercised great influence on the prevailing theories of adjustment of immigrant groups to the older society they found on arrival in America. The popular concept of Americanization during most of the nineteenth century was that of conformity of the newly arrived to the society into which they came. Immigrants were to be changed by a new social environment; they were not expected to change the group into which they came. This concept of complete conversion of the newly arrived—always a concept and not a reality—was in time succeeded by the idea of the “melting pot.” This concept also looked toward the disappearance of divergencies, but it conceived of the immigrant as an active element in the process. His group culture was merged with older group cultures to make a new culture. American culture was conceived in terms of a process, a continual readjustment. The contribution of the immigrant group was to be recognized and preserved to the extent that it was universally accepted. Differences among groups were, in theory, to disappear. The idea of the melting pot, dramatized in literature, affected markedly the ideas of groups about one another. The idea still persists in much of the teaching materials dealing with the story of immigration or with the procedures of Americanization.

With greater maturity and with decreased pressure from immigrant groups, the concept of cultural democracy has come to be accepted by many students of American society. Cultural democracy involves the conservation of differences within the framework of greater unity. It involves an interplay of the cultural qualities and values of various groups to the end that those of permanent significance remain and are cherished, those of less significance are modified or lost. Earlier formulations of the concept of cultural democracy, because they represented a reaction against the pressures, both actual and ideational, of conformity, often overstressed the democratic value of differences. Later formulations provide more reasoned balance between divergencies and similarities, with accent on both the first and last words of the phrase “diversity within unity.”

The concept of cultural pluralism is based in part upon a sort of democracy among groups—the group equivalent of individual worth and dignity. It is based in part also upon the recognition that individual groups are laboratories of experience and experimentation upon which the larger society draws. We are familiar with the idea of state governments serving as experimenters in such matters as woman suffrage and the referendum and repeal, some of which are adopted by the nation itself. We are familiar with “third parties” framing policies ultimately taken over by the dominant forces in our two-party system. In the same fashion, it is held that groups are pioneering centers, laboratories for experimentation in cultural development and in social action. The conservation of group differences helps keep the whole society dynamic.

Groups gather up, nourish, and deliver to society challenging and diverse points of view and practice. A group is thus a creative meeting-place of experience, a generator of ideas. A culture has as its primary source of new ways of thinking and doing the subpatterns suggested by its groups.

The point of view of any given group is for the total society a deviant, a differing point of view. The values, forces, and interests which constitute a group give it a unique view of the social scene. Each group is a reservoir of experience for society to tap if it will. Groups are the pioneers of a culture; society travels no highway that was not at first a rude trail cut by some group into uncharted areas of social action.

The clashes and struggles of competing groups in a society are healthy and stimulating if they are kept within and conform to the basic values which the society accepts. In America, loyalty to democratic ideals should suffuse each group and supply the unchanging framework within whose limits interests may legitimately clash. Woven into our group folkways should be reverence for human personality, and a desire that all share equally in educational, economic, and social opportunity. Dedication to the ideal of thoughtful discussion in matters of dispute, public and nonpublic, and a keen sense of the responsibilities of membership in a society which continually attempts the enlargement of its democracy, are essential in the American pattern.

This means that the student must acquire the ability to evaluate

groups, both as regards their ends and the methods they use to gain them. When, for example, does a legitimate special-interest group become a pressure group inimical to the public interest? Are people who converse in a foreign tongue in a public conveyance un-American? Are different eating habits or costumes or recreations to be condemned? Or, are pupils to become accustomed to cherishing differences which enrich, rather than weaken, American life?

The survey which has been made indicates that the curriculum-makers have not thought through the implications of cultural democracy. They are not clear about whether they support a melting-pot conception of American society or an integrated pluralism. Many courses list the contributions of various ethnic groups, but they are likely to emphasize the mixture of "stocks" and the success of individual persons rather than cultural patterns. They intimate that, having made its contribution, the group should lose its identity in the American scene. Courses refer to the "old" as against the "new" immigrants. Often they leave the impression that the latter are inferior, since material on the social and economic conditions of their European background and of their settlement in America is not included in sufficient detail for real understanding. The following treatment is taken from an overview of a unit:

And we, the people of today, owe to these progenitors inestimable debts in our language, our culture, our government, our economy, and our social life. With the European influx came the problems of racial assimilation. From the ethnic patchwork quilt that was America arose a race that is American—proud of its individualism, its genuine ability, its energetic pursuit of success.

Here both American stock and the American culture are deemed to be complete and final; the treatment is strongly flavored by the Americanization theory.

Few of the courses of study are concerned with clashing group loyalties and with the problem of cultural integration. One course, in a unit on "Problems of Conflicting Loyalties," poses the question of whether greater loyalty is to be given "to principles, to persons, to society, or to special groups." One of the more detailed treatments of the problem does not so much as mention democratic values as a means of integration.

More recent school bulletins, which are indicative of curriculum

changes in the offing, show greater awareness of the problems of prejudice and of intergroup tensions than do the curriculum outlines available to the survey staff. One bulletin suggests that "emphasis upon the contributions of all segments of our population be specifically included in all curriculums at all grade levels and in all areas of study." Another bulletin, in order to face squarely the contemporary situation and set out correcting it, takes the form of a case study of dangerous intergroup tensions culminating in violence.

The "problems" and civics texts disclose a treatment of the problem essentially on the melting-pot level, although some include elements of the idea of cultural democracy. Some passages reflect the earlier Americanization idea, but these are rare. Few texts interest themselves in the process of cultural integration. The sympathetic melting-pot approach characteristic of them is exemplified by the following passages:

An American is a fellow whose grandfather was a German forty-eighter who settled in Wisconsin and married a Swede, whose mother's father married an Englishwoman, whose son met a girl at college, whose mother was an Austrian and whose father was a Hungarian Jew and their son in the twentieth century right now is six feet tall and goes to a state college, plays football, can't speak a word of any language except American.

Again:

The United States is a nation of over 130,000,000 people, a large proportion of whom were gathered from many nations of the world but especially from western Europe and predominantly from the British Isles. Most of these people have by now been blended into a common group with similar traditions and with similar blood through the intermarriage of people of different racial strains. This has been possible because America has been a nation of democratic traditions, where no group has been rigidly set apart from any other because of class, creed, or nationality. Although much of this blending process is now complete, the Americanization of the nation's population still continues.

Elements of the older Americanization ideal appear in this passage. Cultural unity is presumed to follow upon biological fusion.

One of the most definite discussions on the level of cultural democracy is the following:

There has at times been pressure on them [immigrants] to forget their customs and traditions and culture of their homelands. Sometimes we have thought of the "melting pot" as a means of getting rid of the characteristics of national and racial groups coming into the country. We have sometimes tried to obliterate all differences among Americans. Especially during times of crisis are we likely to think of Americanization as the process by which all newcomers are made exactly like older Americans.

Actually, variety is one of the great strengths of the American people. We ought not to want all the characters in the play to dress alike, eat the same foods, sing the same songs, write the same kinds of books. The surest way for us to enhance the color and richness of our national culture is to strengthen "diversity within unity."

Whereas many texts treat, with more or less adequacy, the clash of group interests, the student is not led to see this struggle, if controlled by democratic values, as a valuable dynamic in society. He is likely to receive the unrealistic impression that all is, and should be, "sweetness and light" among social groups. Only one text, which takes a definite sociological point of view throughout, devotes considerable space to the clashing of social groups and to the conditions under which this struggle is beneficial or harmful to the total society. Several texts touch this point indirectly in noting that the demands of "third parties" are often taken up by one or both of the major political parties; but a generalization about the value of differing group points of view does not follow. Again, several of these texts are interested in the gains accruing to society through the competition of economic groups, but they do not discuss the values of cultural and ideological competition.

The questions asked concerning the history texts in connection with this chapter were the following: *Do references to the various cultural groups in the United States, and especially to immigrant groups, teach a pluralistic conception of American society? Do the texts contain adequate treatments of the differing ethnic, racial, and religious groups which make up contemporary America?*

The history texts for grade schools are usually written in terms of the melting-pot theory. Several of them, however, imply cultural democracy through pointing out the color and interest created by differing ways of doing things. One of the best examples of this point of view is the following:

Some children in America are more fortunate than others. Their parents can speak another language besides English. Therefore those children have a fine chance to learn a second language easily and naturally—and without paying for lessons! They should be very proud when they are able to speak two languages—just as they are proud when they can play the piano, or paint a picture, or drive an automobile.

In the junior and senior high school texts, discussions of immigrants and of immigration and of “the peoples of our country” were taken as indicative of the general treatment. On this score the texts in United States history are disappointing. Indeed, only one text was found with emphasis on cultural democracy in its treatment of these subjects.

Descriptions of immigrants range from cold and unsympathetic to warm and understanding. Americanization is defined, directly or by implication, as the putting-off of old, alien ways and the adoption of American ones. The ideal is to become like Americans; the closer the likeness, the more successful has Americanization been.

The tone of the following definition is characteristic of the spirit of the melting-pot concept as it appears in many teaching materials:

Speaking in very general terms, “Americanization” is the process of acquainting immigrants with American customs and institutions in the hope that they will soon become Americans like ourselves. There is obviously some difficulty here, for there is a wide difference of opinion as to what America stands for and what the qualities of the ideal American should be. There is, nevertheless, much in a fundamental way that can be done in helping the newcomer to conquer language difficulties, in protecting him from the unscrupulous who would profit from his ignorance, in pointing out possibilities of self-improvement, and in suggesting his rights and duties under our laws and constitutions.

The following passage is the only one in all the United States history texts examined which incorporates one important element of cultural democracy:

What is meant by Americanization? It does not mean making all Americans, of whatever race or background, exactly alike. It does not mean making people of foreign birth forget their native language or their customs or traditions. It does mean merely teaching them the English language and training them to take part in American politics and to fit themselves to American social ways and habits.

No adequate discussions of the cultural patterns of the several

ethnic groups in contemporary America were found, and no text describes the effects of interaction between the American pattern and the newer immigrant pattern. Most of the acculturation described takes the form of immigrants adjusting to the majority pattern.

The conclusions which must be drawn from this section of the analysis are (1) that the concept of "group worth and dignity" as a basis of cultural democracy is not often explained to pupils in direct and systematic terms, and (2) that the indirect and implied assumptions in the accounts of immigration in American history are drawn largely from the theories of conformity or of the melting pot. There is need both for the introduction into school programs of new materials on cultural democracy, and for the more careful interpretation of much material, bearing indirectly on group life, which is now taught.

Techniques of Intergroup Relations

In studying groups and their relations with one another, the observer may catalog a series of techniques of relationship, extending from wholehearted cooperation to violent scapegoating. In a pamphlet called *The ABC's of Scapegoating*,² Gordon Allport has described a continuum of these methods of interaction, extending from cooperation, respect, and tolerance on the positive side to prejudice, discrimination, and scapegoating on the negative side. Certain specific techniques such as segregation are actively employed in American group relations. The question may well be asked whether pupils are made aware of the range and character of these techniques. Are the effects of one or the other technique on national welfare or on intergroup relations systematically studied by young people who are in training as citizens?

Tolerance and cooperation

The theme of tolerance and the desirability of cooperation among groups appear frequently in the courses of study and textbooks. Rarely are there systematic accounts of the nature of tolerance or the actual practice of cooperation, however; the point is conveyed

² Allport, *The ABC's of Scapegoating* (Chicago: Central YMCA College).

by casual reference or indirection. The approach is often hortatory. The distinction between tolerance and toleration is not ordinarily clear.

Fairly typical of the point of view usually found is the following quotation from a textbook in civics:

Each one of us—white, black, red, or yellow—ought to try to think how he would feel in the other's place when any question comes up that might cause misunderstanding or lack of harmony. Very likely it is best that people of different races should not be forced to live where the differences between them might cause unpleasantness; but every American citizen of every color should have the opportunity to make the most of himself, and people of different races should work hand in hand for the well-being of their own race and the country as a whole.³

The hortatory approach is combined with an evasive approach to the problem of segregation. A fairly well stressed concept—that of respect for the cultural achievements of groups in America—is illustrated in another passage:

The solution of our problem of promoting good-will among Americans also involves recognition and appreciation of the cultural contributions of the numerous nationality groups that have made their homes here. . . . We have too often failed to recognize the origin of customs, traditions, ideas, standards of value, and to give credit where credit is due.

Reliance in this case is on the cultural contribution of a given group, rather than on the ethics of group relations. A more direct recognition of the legitimacy of differences among groups comes from a geography textbook written for elementary schools. One passage is as follows:

You mustn't think, though, that because Simba and his friends do not go to school they are not learning anything worth while. The boys are learning from their fathers how to hunt and fish; how to build huts with roofs that won't leak; and how to build dugouts which will be as swift as any on the river. The girls are learning from their mothers how to cook and how to make baskets and pottery. Most important of all, they are learning how to be good gardeners.

The appeal for tolerance or respect of friendliness is often based

³ Revised edition issued in 1948; last line reads ". . . should work hand in hand for the good of all."

upon self-interest. A widely used history textbook illustrates the approach by saying:

Suppose that you and I keep someone else from worshipping God as he sees fit. We say that he does not think as we do; so he must be wrong! But perhaps tomorrow he and his friends may be strong enough to keep you and me from worshipping God as *we* see fit. He will say that we do not think as he does; so we must be wrong. Therefore, if I want freedom for myself, I must be willing that other people should have freedom too. That is the only way that I can be sure my own freedom will last.

The instruction on tolerance is not very clear or precise in most of the materials examined. Positive suggestions as to *how* to cooperate with other groups are not often found; although the desirability of cooperation is emphasized, as in the following passage:

... cooperation on a specific task is more fruitful than discussion of the race problem. In working to achieve a specific objective, people develop wholesome racial attitudes and create other conditions which benefit the various groups.

On the whole, the explanatory material—realistic and clear—about warm, friendly intergroup relations which is found in the teaching materials is not very convincing. In both literary anthologies and social studies textbooks there is opportunity for improvement.

Prejudice

The term "prejudice" literally means a pre-judgment, an evaluation made before all the pertinent facts have been collected. A prejudice involves a refusal to look at all the facts and is, therefore, irrational. Such a willful distortion of judgment is based upon passion or interest and usually goes hand in hand with bigotry. The roots of prejudice are not inborn in human nature. As the individual's attitude develops within the family, the play group, and the community, attitudes of prejudice are nurtured. They develop out of personal and informal contacts. As the child is exposed to the cultural expressions of prejudice, he in turn adopts them as his own. Some prejudices—a prejudice against crime, for example—are desirable, but most often they harm the person holding them, the group to which they are directed, and the society which contains both.

An effective attempt to place the problem of prejudice before the pupil and to provide him with a limited set of tools in the form of definitions and danger signals is contained in the following quotation from a problems text. The passage is by no means typical, but is impressive partly because it is so unusual.

It is important that we understand our attitudes, as they are the powerful forces behind our behavior adjustments. . . . There are several kinds of destructive attitudes which you must avoid if you wish to develop a wholesome personality. These are: 1) Prejudices: Unfortunately, the most destructive attitudes of mankind are prejudices. A prejudiced person is one who pre-judges before he critically examines the merits of questions and issues. Prejudices are acquired (a) from the likes and dislikes of parents and associates, (b) from painful experiences that cause fear, (c) through ignorance and a mind set by personal convictions. A prejudiced person is fundamentally emotional and irrational.

Racial prejudice remains one of the most common and persistent problems with which the modern world has to contend. . . . Nothing hinders the development of a well-developed personality as much as prejudices and anti-social tendencies.*

The appeal, it will be noted, is partially in terms of the self-interest of the pupil, on the ground that prejudice may hurt the bearer as much as the object. It stresses the fact that prejudice is socially acquired and can be changed. When the student has learned what prejudices are, how they are acquired, how they can be identified, and how much harm they do, he has taken several important steps toward immobilizing his own prejudices. Textbooks are capable of showing the student all of these things; at present, most of them are not doing it effectively. While there is an emerging literature on the nature and control of prejudice written for young people in the form of supplementary materials, the topic is not as yet treated systematically and adequately in most of the courses of study and the basic textbooks.

Prejudices are, of course, closely related to and often conveyed by stereotypes. Stereotypes are popular misconceptions and distortions of the truth, opinions which do not correspond to the facts, a mingling of myths and legends about groups. They are "pictures of the mind," group images without individual details. A man is

*Unfortunately the second paragraph was deleted from a revised edition published in 1947.

first a Negro, a Catholic, a Jew, and only subsequently Mr. Johnson, Mr. Murphy, or Mr. Bernstein. Stereotypes tend to simplify relationships by reducing people to a few overemphasized characteristics. These short cuts, because of their distortions, are harmful by their oversimplifying of personal or group traits. The following examples illustrate the common use of stereotypes in the books examined:

The Chinese are a very superstitious people. Most of the superstitions have been passed down from generation to generation for hundreds of years.⁵

Did you ever hear of a lazy Dutch woman? We are almost sure you have not. The Dutch housewife is at work from morning until night, sweeping, scrubbing, mopping, and polishing. Cleanliness is a characteristic of the Dutch. The doorsteps are spotless; tiles gleam. Holland is one of the cleanest countries.⁶

She was superstitious, like the other negroes; also, like them, she was deeply religious. Like them she had great faith in prayer and employed it in all ordinary exigencies, but not in cases when a dead certainty of result was urgent. . . .

In each of these passages prejudicial attitudes are conveyed by means of stereotypes. At times the stereotype may be benign, as in the case of the Dutch, but the student is being taught to generalize loosely about an entire group. Some stereotypes are, in fact, largely truthful; most Dutch people are clean. But it is always dangerous to deal in absolutes. Distribution curves point to the falsity of stereotypes. Stereotypes stand in the way of forming objective attitudes toward all groups, including one's own, and make it impossible to judge accurately the individual members of a group because the whole group has been prejudged. Many stereotypes are based upon biological data, without the giving of proper weight to psychological and social factors.

⁵ Rewritten in 1945 edition from changed point of view, as follows: "*Ancient superstitions are now passing away.* The Chinese have been a very superstitious people, but with education, the influence of Christian missionaries, and contact with Western science, many of the old superstitions are disappearing. . . ."

⁶ Rewritten in 1945 edition from changed point of view, as follows: "That constant struggle [with the sea] has called for intelligence and determination. It is understandable that these people are home-loving. Probably you have seen pictures of Dutch housewives scrubbing their spotless steps, polishing their copper utensils, or cleaning the colorful tiles that decorate the interiors of their homes. The Dutch are proud of their families and their houses. . . ."

Malicious prejudicial statements are often the result of feelings of insecurity on the part of those who make them. Then, too, when people see their prestige and security waning, they are likely to make derogatory statements and false generalizations about those by whom they expect to be victimized. Psychological guilt feelings are also involved in the practice. Ascribing to others, in exaggerated form, the questionable practices of which we ourselves are guilty seems to affirm the old dictum that "the best defense is attack." It is a kind of perverse, illogical, and negative identification. Ordinarily, we identify ourselves with those traits we most admire; the inverted negativism of prejudice does, however, provide at least a temporary ego-satisfaction to many people, however harmful its long-run effect on their personalities may be. Simple, graphic illustrations of these principles chosen from the lives of young people themselves can readily make them clear. More of this kind of aid to self-discovery is badly needed. Prejudice harms both the persons prejudged and those who make the false judgments. It encourages retaliation, to say nothing of the harm to an individual which comes from the constant practice of intellectual dishonesty.

The weight of evidence against the instinct theory of prejudice is overwhelming. Prejudices are not instinctive; they are learned. They are developed by contacts with individuals which produce strongly negative emotional responses, by unsatisfactory contact with members of a group discriminated against, and by the taking-over of the ready-made prejudices of others. Parents, nurses, teachers, and contemporaries may be the source. Printed materials, motion pictures, the radio, even games and toys contribute to the formation of prejudices, especially when they deal in stereotypes. Printed materials used for instructional purposes may unconsciously contribute to stereotyping, and therefore to prejudice.

Some textbooks attempt to inform the student about the nature of stereotypes and the harm done by stereotyping whole groups and harboring prejudices against their members. The following account illustrates a treatment of the social technique of prejudice:

Moreover, it is important that we realize that every one of us has prejudices which prevent us from making honest and fair judgments. These ideas, called stereotypes, are obtained from our family, church, school, books, and numerous other sources. For example, it may be

that a member of your family has had an unfortunate experience with a member of a particular race, labor union, or political party or other organization. You have heard such persons condemned so frequently that you have become so prejudiced you cannot judge any act of theirs fairly. Under such circumstances you are seriously handicapped in your attempt to learn the truth whenever such persons are involved. Obviously we must first become thoroughly conscious of our own prejudices and then be on guard to prevent them from leading us astray in our thinking.⁷

Useful as this approach is, it does not adequately explain stereotyping or prejudice. It is a beginning for a type of instruction that is widely needed.

Discrimination

When prejudice is actively expressed, discrimination results. Discrimination is an act of group exclusion based on active prejudice against the excluded group. It expresses itself in unjust and forcible separation of the discriminated persons from jobs, residential areas, educational and cultural opportunities, and the like. Discrimination implies subordination and superordination, a situation in which power and prestige are unequally, often unjustly, divided. In a democratic society, this "better than" or "higher than" relationship is theoretically reduced to a minimum. It is maximized where a system of social caste is in force. Inequality is an inherent aspect of discrimination. It assumes the superiority of one's own group to other groups and forms the foundation of ethnocentrism, the "view of things in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled with reference to it."

To a considerable extent, discrimination is a compensatory form of behavior. The insecurity and hurt and injustice felt by one group are reversed, and aggressively compensated for upon a group somewhat less able to defend itself. Discrimination is a form of social bullying practiced by each group in the social "pecking order" upon the next in line.⁸ The psychological pattern is that of frustra-

⁷ This quotation unchanged in a revised edition issued in 1948, which, however, contains a sizable new section on intergroup relations.

⁸ The term "pecking order" is used by psychologists to describe degrees of dominance and submission in human groups. It was derived from observation of the order in which baby chickens establish physical dominance over one another in the poultry yard.

tion and resultant aggression. Those prejudiced who practice discrimination subconsciously think of the world as a jungle in which the strong are justified in preying upon the weak because they in turn can attack those who are still weaker. In our own history, the early settlers tended to discriminate against the Irish and Germans. The Irish and the Germans in turn discriminated against the Italians and Poles; still further down the social "pecking order" were the Negroes, the Mexicans, and other subordinated groups. Many of the specific discriminatory practices employed in the United States against Negro-Americans are described in chapter 7 of this study. In Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*, discrimination was selected as the central concept for analyzing both Negro productivity and consumption; the denial of equal opportunity was held to be a major violation of the American Creed. Myrdal specifically discusses discrimination in the armed forces, in access to medical facilities, in housing, in education, in prison, in access to recreational facilities, and in public relief.

Prejudice, discrimination, and segregation follow upon each other's heels. The consigning of one group to a lower status is bound to result to some degree in lowering of standards for both. Minimization of contacts has a similar affect. Myrdal comments on this mental and physical isolation as follows: "Whether they know it or not, white people are dwarfing their minds to a certain extent by avoiding contacts with colored people."⁹

The actual processes of discrimination are not explained, and their effects not calculated in the instructional materials which have been examined. The pages of history abound in instances of discrimination, but the accounts are descriptive rather than analytical. In modern-problems textbooks an approach to the analysis of discrimination and segregation is often made in connection with the discussion of the race question, but again the accounts are likely to be relatively descriptive of the *status quo* rather than analytical. Segregation is more often assumed than appraised. Discrimination is more often described than dissected. There is urgent need for the development of more effective and penetrating teaching materials in this area.

⁹ Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944), I, 644.

Scapegoating

Scapegoating represents the most violent and overt form of hostile behavior directed against members of out-groups. It is the nethermost extremity of the continuum of social techniques. Attitudes of friendliness and cooperation have vanished when one group makes a scapegoat of another. Scapegoating is defined in Allport's *The ABC's of Scapegoating* as "the full-fledged persecution of those against whom we are prejudiced and against whom we discriminate." The victims are attacked, either verbally or physically. Invariably, they are persons or groups in a minority who cannot fight back. The victim of scapegoating is always weaker than the scapegoaters.

In scapegoating, a "goat" is selected to which blame or punishment is fastened. At the base of this aggression against the rights of a minority group, such factors are in operation as insecurity, frustration, or anxiety. As a result of these factors, the individual may project his fears and anxieties onto some "goat" or "scapegoat." Blame which he himself should share is cast wholly upon others.

The student is often provided, by the school and by other sources, with ready stereotypes, glittering generalities, or name-calling devices. Thus armed, he may, particularly in times of crisis, project the blame for his troubles onto the objects of his prejudices. Do text materials offer an explanation of this mechanism? Not in any clear or adequate manner, and usually not at all. One of the few exceptions is a civics book which explains the origin of the term, a clear and simple description of the process, and illustrations drawn from Hitler's Germany and from a club for boys.

In unsettled periods of history the tendency toward scapegoating is at its height. In these years of turmoil and uncertainty on the international scene and of readjustment at home, the need for guarding against scapegoating activity and frame of mind is very great. *Forewarning* of scapegoating in knowledge of the social mechanisms it involves is a form of *forearming*. Instances of scapegoating abound in our history and in our literature. Psychological and sociological analyses of these instances are proper tasks for the schools.

Conclusion

In this chapter the treatment of various aspects of group life to be found in teaching materials has been appraised. Books and courses of study have been examined to ascertain what they say about the role of groups in American society, and little has been found. The status and function of groups are not explained. The internal structure of a group, with its cluster of variations around a norm, and the frequent confusion of a norm with a stereotype are not made clear for pupils. Relations among groups, as traced through accounts of Americanization and the melting pot and cultural democracy are not often explained directly, and are often, by implication, based upon concepts now outdated. The techniques for action among groups are largely unexplained. It would be very easy for a pupil to graduate from high school in the United States without ever having studied any of these factors of group life in America. It is the conviction of this survey group that such should not be the case. School courses of study should draw more heavily than they do upon the scientific studies of society and of social patterns and processes if a truly functional curriculum in citizenship is to be developed.

Part III

6

Ethnic Groups in the United States

THE PRECEDING chapters dealt with the treatment of group structure and the sociology of group life in the texts and courses of study under examination. The chapters in Part III will examine the treatment of three categories of specific groups—ethnic, racial, and religious—important in our national life.

Groups may be classified in various ways but, considering the basic human unity of mankind, all systems of classification are bound to be in some measure false and misleading. This is especially true when such emotion-arousing designations as race, nationality, class, caste, and religion are used. The meaning of these terms commonly used in describing groups is debatable and controversial; those who might be expected to define them authoritatively speak in a babel of voices. There are, for example, those who strongly recommend dropping the term "race" almost entirely, because of the misconceptions which have grown up through its use. Others object to use of the word "caste." Uses of the term "ethnic" in contemporary literature are varied, and its meaning is elusive. Yet the useful discussion of groups calls for their classification under some accepted terminology and a clear definition of the meaning and scope of the descriptive terms used. In the three chapters which follow, the terms ethnic, racial, and religious, are used in the light of definitions stated within this volume. Inevitably, these classifications overlap; any such trichotomy is essentially an artificial device used for the sake of convenience.

The term "ethnic group" is here employed in place of the more commonly used term "nationality"; ethnic group is broader in meaning and tends to minimize the emotional overtones of nationalism. W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole in *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups* thus define the phrase as it refers to a person:

The term ethnic refers to any individual who considers himself, or is considered to be, a member of a group with a foreign culture and who

participates in the activities of the group. Ethnicity may be of foreign or of native birth.¹

This definition places emphasis on cultural factors as determinants of personality. While visible physical characteristics may be involved in the social placement of ethnics, cultural factors such as language, religion, tradition, and folkways are more important.

A "racial group," in contrast to an ethnic group, is "one whose members . . . share distinctive common hereditary *physical characteristics*."² The scientific delimitation of specific physical attributes which set off one race from another is perhaps an impossibility. The term race is, at best, a generalized concept, easily capable of abuse and in need of further clarification. Yet, however, complete systems of classification may at times break down when applied to particular individuals, and however metaphysical a "racial norm" may be, the term is so deeply ingrained in the cultural heritage of most men everywhere that we cannot ignore it completely. Every precaution must, however, be taken against its misuse.

As one physical anthropologist writes:

The physical anthropologists who recognize the validity of racial classification (of which the writer is one) accept the evidence of their eyes when they observe differences in skin colors, in head forms, and so on. They recognize that any one trait, taken singly, has no diagnostic value whatever. They know that all traits are extremely variable. They admit that all races are mixed; that there are no "pure" races. They acknowledge that races are modifiable, that they are not fixed and immutable. Finally, they attempt no evaluation; they ascribe to no race any priorities or superiorities in cultural abilities or potentialities.³

It is also worth noting that Gunnar Myrdal in *An American Dilemma* has not avoided the terms race and racial. He did not let the prevailing unscientific uses of these terms deter him from their use. The term racial can be used with such caution and fairness that the pitfalls usually associated with it are avoided. Further efforts at clarification will be made in this respect by the inclusion or exclusion of certain groups from the chapter on racial groups, and by pointing out specific abuses to which the term is subject.

Racial and ethnic groups may or may not coincide. All Negroes,

¹ New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 28.

² *Ibid.*

³ Wilton M. Krogman, "An Anthropologist Looks at Race," *Intercultural Education News*, November 1945, p. 1.

in a social sense, by no means belong to one ethnic group. The French Negro, the Negro-American, or the Brazilian Negro, from a cultural point of view, is almost indistinguishable from other inhabitants of those nations. Whether or not the person singled out for observation and study is a Negro-American, an American Negro, or simply an American, is a matter which will provoke discussion in almost any group. As the usual identifying visibilities disappear through racial mixture, the proper technical classification of the individual becomes more difficult.

No attempt to define the term "religious group" will be made. It will be used in the popular sense of membership in, adherence to, or sympathy with, recognized faiths. It is obvious that membership in such a group is not conditional upon membership in either an ethnic or a racial group. The fact that the Irish are preponderantly Roman Catholic or that there are many Negro Methodists and Baptists has no necessary relation to the ethnic or racial character of these peoples.

It is true that religion may, on occasion, be intimately tied up with a particular ethnic group. The emperor-worship of the later Roman Empire was an integral part of the extreme nationalism of the Roman ethnic group. Jewish religion is confined almost exclusively to members of the Jewish ethnic group. Modern Shintoism in Japan is not only a glorification of an ethnic group, but an expression of nationalism as well. But most religions, at least in the Western world, consider themselves independent of the state and certainly of any racial group. The concepts of the brotherhood of man and the unity of the human family are dominant in both the Jewish and the Christian traditions.

These ideas will be amplified and illustrated in the chapters which follow. While separate chapters are devoted to the three types of groups, it is important that their interrelatedness be kept in mind. The point is well illustrated in the case of the Spanish-speaking Americans. Culturally, they constitute an ethnic group. Admixtures of Indian blood and sometimes of Negroid physical traits might provide grounds for considering them a racial group. The fact that they are predominantly Roman Catholic might warrant giving them special consideration as members of that religious group. The falseness, due to its fractional truth, of considering them exclusively

under any one of the three categories is clear. This difficulty and all that it implies should be borne in mind while reading the following chapters.

The present chapter deals with the treatment given certain ethnic groups in widely used textbooks and courses of study. It deals first with national-origin groups and with the general story of immigration and immigrants in America. A succeeding section deals with the treatment of Jews as an ethnic group—a section which is supplemented in chapter 8 by the treatment of Jews as a religious group. The present chapter also deals with the treatment accorded in the teaching materials to Spanish-speaking citizens of the United States. All of the groups included have, at one time or another, been considered immigrants. The particular qualities which cause them to be classified as ethnic groups tend in time to disappear, become modified, or gain acceptance without too conscious recognition of their deviation from those of the majority. Ethnic groups, no less than others, are subject to inevitable change. Historical perspective is necessary for their appropriate placement in the present.

The Treatment of Immigrant Groups in Teaching Materials

The great number and variety of immigrant groups which compose American society make it very difficult for most textbooks or courses of study to give systematic attention to each of the groups. While all of the major groups are referred to individually in one way or another, the tendency in direct discussion of them is to classify them in major groups of immigration—often as “old” and “new” immigrants. The textbooks and courses of study are almost invariably careful to avoid derogatory statements about specific groups; it is probably in the general discussions of immigration that attitudes toward immigrant groups are chiefly formed. The tendency to lump quite diverse peoples together in general categories is itself a weakness in education for good intergroup relations, and it makes more difficult the task of appraising the treatment of specific ethnic groups.

The value-judgments made implicit by the texts in reviewing the history of immigration to the United States, and in appraising the separate nationalities involved, emphasize the assumption that the

early-comers were superior to the late-comers. The early groups, as ordinarily treated in the texts, consist of the British colonists and those emigrants from northern and western Europe who came to the United States before 1880. The so-called "new" immigration, coming largely from southern and eastern Europe since 1880, is contrasted unfavorably with the earlier group. Textbook authors, consciously or unconsciously, identify with the former; the "we" concept appears in their judgments. The "old" immigrants are "our" people, the founders and builders of the nation. Toward the latter group the student is likely to acquire a "they" or "out-group" feeling. Authors seldom identify with the new immigrant groups, often referring to them as "swarms," "hordes," or "waves," or simply reducing them to statistics.

When texts classify immigrants as old and new, there is a tendency to attribute specific characteristics to each inclusive group. This oversimplification tends strongly toward stereotyping, and false conceptions arise about the several ethnic groups which comprise each category. It would be in the interest of education for good group relations to omit such a system of classification entirely, since the temptation to distortion is great. Where likenesses or differences between specific groups are pertinent to topics under discussion, they can be pointed out easily.

By assumption or indirection, the texts often give the impression that the earlier immigrants were always enthusiastically welcomed and well treated. Such an assumption is untenable. Nativism was, for example, reflected in the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 and in the Know-Nothing movement of the 1850's. Opposition to newcomers on religious, economic, or political grounds is not a post-1880 phenomenon. Struggles on the part of immigrants for place, prestige, and acceptance are not limited to any one era of American history. The effect of the passage of time on the status of ethnic groups is not adequately emphasized in present teaching materials.

Ordinarily, the accounts given of earlier conflicts with immigrant groups are purely descriptive, but occasionally a book will include a comment such as this one about the Know-Nothing Party: "Nothing could be less truly 'American' than such a secret organization." Nowhere is praise given such principles or practices as those of the Know-Nothing Party, but rarely is the outburst analyzed, or the

courageous opposition to it portrayed. Opportunities for direct instruction about the nature of group relations in the United States, and for clarification of those principles of a democratic society applicable to ethnic groups, are more often ignored than seized.

Less tangible, but no less basic, assumptions are made concerning our immigration policies. Such assumptions deserve careful investigation. In the present state of world reorganization, and with the extensive shifting of peoples, the uncertain privilege of human beings to choose their places of habitation requires critical consideration. The assumptions underlying the treatment of immigration policy in the texts might well shed light on such a question as: How and by whom are decisions to be made as to where people are to live on the earth? The wish to satisfy human needs which leads to the migration of peoples is given a subordinate place, if it is treated at all. In the texts migration is almost exclusively a unilateral affair. Today these issues have an international relevance to the peace, prosperity, and happiness of mankind. The texts assume that one of the privileges of national sovereignty is the right of each nation to determine the membership of its own national family, whether increased by birth or adoption. The assumption deserves more analysis than it now receives in teaching materials. Bare mention of the fact, for example, that our policy of exclusion strained relations with Japan in 1924 is hardly adequate background for young citizens who are to live in a world where perplexing issues—the conflict between Jews and Arabs in Palestine, the fate of refugees from European tyranny, the unjust treatment here at home of ethnics from many lands—pose serious questions. Careful expositions balancing national welfare against world welfare need to be included in textbooks, and supported by details of the evidence on which they rest.

Unlike many older nations, America has never been wholly secure in its feeling of Americanism. Because there were no deeply ingrained, well-marked folkways on the new continent, except those brought from Europe, men were constantly having to answer anew the question, "What is Americanism?" This constant process of redefinition was required not only by the demands of frontier building and living, but also by the fierce clash of the factions created by a swift industrial and economic revolution. The anti-immigrant

movements of the 1850's and the latter part of the nineteenth century were based, in part, on the economic insecurity of laborers and members of the lower middle class who feared the economic competition of the newcomers. Each ethnic group tended to feel that it alone was truly American, or at least had a prior claim to that designation. Each group that came to the United States developed in time the notion that those who followed later were an inferior lot and joined in crying "menace" when the newest arrivals settled in the community.

To be American has played and is playing an important part in the psychological security of the people who make up our country. Much of American folk-psychology is concerned with proving over and over again that successive groups are thoroughly and distinctively American.

Irish-Americans came in time, for example, to look down upon Scandinavian-Americans; Scandinavian-Americans upon Italian-Americans; they upon Mexican-Americans, and so on. The groups which came earliest have tended to rise highest in the social scale, despite the fact that they were themselves scorned when they first arrived. A similar re-evaluation has occurred in the case of certain religious groups. The Quakers and Mormons, once persecuted, are now fully accepted, and their special achievements widely acclaimed. In the case of the former there has developed almost an identification of them with the higher conscience of America. Thus, a high place in American life, though difficult to attain by people who are "different," can be won by them. This historical relativism of social prestige should not be ignored when recent-comers are evaluated.

Only in an atmosphere of group insecurity in a flexible society could such a profusion of abusive terms as we now have for foreigners have been coined. "Wop," "Hunky," "Greaser," "Mick," "Kike," "Sheeny," "Dago," "Chink," "Polack," "Bohunk," "Mockey," and many others are current. So vociferous has been our Americanism, the values of conformity so magnified, that the so-called melting pot has actually operated as a pressure cooker. To look, speak, or behave like a foreigner in America has been, and is, a handicap. One's own Americanism is thought to be proved and reinforced if one condemns someone with different mannerisms or customs.

As in the case of other minority groups, American folkways include a set of "foreigner" or "immigrant" stereotypes. These range from the benign, clumsy, plodding outlander with his ridiculous clothes and broken English, to the embittered, sinister radical, bomb in hand. El Brendel, the Swedish-American comedian, has for years exploited on stage and screen the innocent, blundering "foreign" role. Representations of the "dumb Swede," the "canny Scot," and the "fighting Irish" remain popular. Such misleading stereotypes are not entirely absent from textbooks. Many texts discuss the immigrants in such a way that their out-groupness, their strangeness, and the fact that they cause "problems" are emphasized out of all proper proportion. Not the least guilty in this respect are the literary anthologies. The teaching materials tend, largely by indirection and implication, to perpetuate the out-group concept of immigrants in American life.

Perhaps the major error in this area is the statement or implication that (*a*) northern European peoples are of a different race from southern or eastern European peoples, and that (*b*) the northerners (Teutons, Swedes, English—Anglo-Saxon stocks), because of their racial identity with the peoples who first founded this country, adapt themselves more easily and more thoroughly to "our way of life." Numerous passages state or clearly imply that northern Europeans make better Americans than other peoples, and that this is due to racial characteristics.

Quite aside from the matter of qualitative judgment of the several nationalities, this is an example of a common but incorrect use of the term "race." There is no Anglo-Saxon race, or German race, or Slavic race. All of these peoples are members of the Caucasian race. It is true that members of other races reside in various European countries, and that people can also be classified on the basis of the type of language which they speak, as in the case of the Aryans, but confusion of nationality with race should be educationally indefensible.

The following statements from widely used texts are typical of this misconception:

Before 1880 most of the immigrants to this country were of Teutonic, Scandinavian, English, or Irish stock—the kind of people who could adapt themselves quickly and easily to our mode of life. But the suc-

ceeding waves of immigration included great numbers of Italians, Hungarians, and Poles. These racial groups tended to concentrate in the already thickly settled urban areas. Here they created a double problem, because most of them had a lower standard of living than the rest of the population, and they were very slow in becoming Americanized.

Since 1885 immigration has increased enormously in volume and the newcomers as a class have been less welcome. They have come largely from southeastern Europe and are unlike the natives in race, ideals, and customs. They are largely a people who have not developed that stability of character for which the Anglo-Saxon has been noted. This dissimilarity is the basis of many of our most pressing political, industrial, and social problems today.

One of the best statements of the bearing which so-called racial differences have had upon our immigration policy is also one of the shortest:

One of the chief reasons for this discrimination in favor of the peoples of northern and western Europe was the popular, although false, notion that the people of northern and western Europe are superior mentally and physically to the peoples of southern Europe. (This is known as the theory of "Nordic supremacy"; although no reputable scientist sustains it, it is a theory which flatters the "Nordic" and has gained widespread currency.)

Many passages in the texts contain words or groups of words which may create attitudes in the reader, particularly the impressionable reader, not intended by the author, whose aim may have been merely to write colorful and interesting prose. The following is an example. The implications of this passage cannot but increase the reader's antipathy for immigrants:

In 1914 the high-water mark was reached, with a total of 1,218,480 immigrants, of whom more than 800,000 came from Italy, Russia, and Austria-Hungary, and 260,000 were illiterates of fourteen years of age or over. During the war the numbers of immigrants fell off; but when the war was over, there was danger that we might be flooded by refugees from the distressed countries of Europe. "The world is preparing to move to America," wrote the Commissioner of Immigration. The war had also revealed some alarming facts in regard to our foreign population. Many immigrants were neglecting to become naturalized American citizens, retaining their real allegiance to the lands from which they had come. Radical labor agitators were suspected of "taking their orders

from Moscow." Over one thousand newspapers in the United States were printed in foreign languages, and over 10 percent of the people here could not speak English. American labor leaders were disturbed over the influx of hordes of foreigners who were accustomed to working for low wages, and patriotic citizens generally were alarmed at the numbers of newcomers who had no knowledge of American institutions or ideals. If we were not to become what Theodore Roosevelt called "an international boarding-house," some step must be taken to limit the unrestricted immigration of the prewar days.

Some of the emotion-laden terms here are: "danger," "alarming," "flooded," "refugees," "illiterates," "radical labor agitators," "taking orders from Moscow," "hordes of foreigners," "patriotic citizens," and "an international boarding-house." The picture presented is a biased, rather than a balanced, one; background information does not appear. The fact that some immigrants failed to become naturalized is not evidence that they reserved their "real allegiance" for the land from which they came.

In a text in American history appears the following sentence:

After the World War, however, the stream of immigrants again threatened to reach the prewar volume.

The word "threatened" in this sentence gives it a meaning very different from that contained in some more neutral word, such as "approached." A "threat" is bad and should be resisted; it is something that endangers us in some way. In using this term, the author renders a judgment about immigration without encouraging the reader either to see that the judgment has been made or to examine the evidence on which it rests.

Another example is:

The existence of large colonies of foreigners in the industrial centers gave some countenance to this assertion [that they could not be Americanized fast enough]. To the early restrictionists, consequently, were now added many ardent patriots who saw in this situation a danger to American institutions.

By describing "many" of those who now see a "danger" in the situation as "ardent patriots," a value-judgment is clearly made. Another text uses this expression:

In the 1880's and thereafter, on the other hand, swarms of immigrants began to flow across the Atlantic from eastern and southern Europe.

Almost inevitably a negative reaction to immigrants as people who "swarm" is set up in the minds of young readers by such a statement.

Many discussions in the texts state or clearly imply that immigrants to the United States had real freedom of choice; they preferred to live in slums, chose to receive lower pay than native Americans, and elected to create "Little Italys" and "Little Polands." The economic and social conditions which force immigrants into tenements and sweatshops are not adequately presented. Voluntarism assumes a genuine choice between alternatives. If the facts are ignored or the conditions hindering the realization of preferences superficially analyzed, the student is misled. The following statement illustrates the error of voluntarism:

The increasing stream of immigrants called forth a strong protest from native-born Americans. The newcomers were willing to work long hours for low wages. Those who settled in the cities tended to concentrate in wretched tenements and shanties, thus creating new slum areas. Their lower standards of living aroused considerable opposition.

The following passage first gives the impression that immigrants choose to live in slums and then attempts to modify it:

On the other hand, the majority of immigrants of recent years have tended to settle in large cities, where many live in slum districts under conditions which make it very difficult for them to become Americanized. Some of the immigrants maintain a lower standard of living than the average American family, which fact tends to lower the wages paid to unskilled American laborers in some districts. Nevertheless, when given proper education and opportunities, most immigrants become good citizens; many have become outstanding citizens.

Many authors are aware of this sort of misinterpretation. But passages explaining why immigrants were not in a position to make free choices and pointing out that they should not be blamed for certain conditions are generally very brief. One of these short statements follows:

Such an account, however, gives but little indication of the vast problem of assimilation resulting from this steady and increasing stream of immigration. The newcomers were not always welcomed openhandedly; too often they were herded into slums, exploited, and then unjustly blamed for bad social or economic conditions.

Another statement which gives more of the background of forces playing upon these groups is:

Large colonies of the foreign-born developed in the principal industrial centers. Grouped in settlements of their own nationality, and largely ignored by the native population, except as a source of cheap labor, their assimilation to American customs and standards has taken place very slowly. Illiteracy has usually remained high, standards of health and cleanliness low. . . . By ostracism and segregation, he [the immigrant] has been shut off too largely from the best in American culture and prevented from participating in American life.

Although such a passage removes from the immigrant the stigma of blame for these conditions, much more than this should be done to show students the real social world which confronted immigrants, their conceptions of what America offered, and their struggles to survive and adjust in their new and confusing environment.

One statement which gives the student an insight into why the immigrants found it helpful to live on cultural islands is the following:

In settling in American cities immigrants have tended to congregate in particular areas with others of their nationality. Thus, in many cities and towns there are sections of Italians, Poles, Russians, Germans, and other nationalities. These cultural islands, as they have been termed, have been both a help and a hindrance to the immigrants. They have provided the newcomers with friends and social discipline and observance of the law among immigrants. The "islands" have made the change from the culture of the Old World to that of the new easier and less abrupt.

The concept of assimilation has already been dealt with in chapter 5. It is re-emphasized here because many textbook passages tend to create an erroneous picture of who and what is American. They tend to widen the psychological distance at which foreign-appearing or foreign-speaking peoples are kept. Immigrants are continually being treated as members of out-groups. Even such a passage as the following emphasizes differences by indirection:

The public schools do much to make alien families into Americans. Go into a public school today in which children of foreign-born parents and children of native Americans sit side by side, and you may not see a thing that would enable you to tell them apart.

These statements tell the reader by implication that Americanism is

related to appearance and dress and that the more immigrant children dress like the children of native-born Americans, the more American—the more nearly assimilated—they will be. It suggests also that a child or person who dresses or speaks unlike the native-born citizen is un-American. Such passages, however innocently, suggest a basis for a negative attitude toward foreigners.

Several of the more recent texts, however, make clear that to be American does not mean to be like everyone else. Here is a passage in this vein:

Another shift in immigrant education is taking place. Instead of asking the newcomer to give up his native language and culture, the trend is to urge the immigrant to keep the best of his native culture and to blend it with the best features of the American. Various groups may be good Americans without being identical in culture.

Comment has already been made on passages emphasizing homogeneity of stock or of racial strains as a prerequisite to final American unity. One paragraph containing this idea develops the further conception of complete cultural assimilation:

In 1930 approximately 40,000,000 of our 123,000,000 people were of foreign birth or parentage who as yet were only partially initiated into the American way of living. This means that approximately one-third of our people were still in the process of becoming Americans in the full sense of the term, for to become an American takes more than one generation. It takes two or three generations before the patterns and traditions of the descendants of people from a foreign country are blended fully into a new way of life.

Although this discussion is aimed at developing a sociological conception of the process of assimilation, it can easily be misinterpreted to mean that a person is not a real, a genuine, a full-fledged American until his family has been here for three generations. Too few texts make clear the real essence of Americanization. It is not a matter of clothes, or accent, or time spent here, or mastery of our folkways. It is a fundamental loyalty to democratic ideals. Without this faith, the other factors comprise only a veneer.

Pupils should be encouraged to distinguish more carefully between the fundamental and superficial aspects of Americanization. It is clear that most aliens wish to become American. This desire is entirely commendable; but it is well to scrutinize what they *think*

they should acquire and what they think they should drop in the process, as well as what they actually should acquire or drop in a cultural sense. Texts too often stress superficial changes as evidences of Americanization.

A subtle but effective way to instill in students an inadequate conception of Americanism, and to make many children of foreign extraction squirm with discomfort and self-distrust, is to assign exclusively such names as Jones, Smith, Brown, and Evans to the characters in the stories they read. So intent are authors on not distracting reader attention from the point they are making that they rarely risk a name outside the recognized American pattern. This is also true of Christian names. Less familiar names would, of course, involve difficulties in spelling and pronunciation.

Here are names in a third-year reader: Dick, Barbara, Uncle Tom, Ronny, Ann, Aunt Margaret, Uncle Henry, Grandpa Howell, Bob Jones, Uncle Bill, and so on. The pattern is broken in one story by the following names: Eve Evendon, Pete Souchak, Mary Souchak, Jack Mintern, Jack Jouett. In another third-grade reader the names are even more monotonously Anglicized. Miss Lee is the teacher (teachers and those in authority almost always have this type of name); other characters are David Hill, Mary Field, Billy Field, Ruth Hill, Mr. Boyd (the principal), Miss Cook (the new teacher), Tom White, Patty, and Mr. Brown. The pattern recurs endlessly in elementary readers. Some go so far afield as to use Mr. McLeod, Sandy and Angie, and Mr. Kelso, but they are soon back with Todds, Hoopers, and Wheelers. A junior high school anthology contains a story whose hero is George Prasha, but, to balance this daring, the other characters are Perry King, Lee Merritt, and Betty Lawton. A social science reader has this set of names: Mrs. Jones, Mr. Adams, Mr. Banks, Dick Bell, Mr. Lee, Mr. Hill, and Mr. Olsen. Only one reader was found which contained stories using Polish, Italian, Hungarian, or Jewish names. The tendency to use only "soundly American" names is particularly evident in the early grade readers, the very place where the impression may be lastingly made that Smith is more American than Bolinski or Gerardo. In these readers children and adults, when pictured, are far more likely to be blond than dark, tall than short, blue-eyed than otherwise. All tend to follow the stereotype of the Nordic.

There can be no quarrel, on the whole, with the quality of the selections included in anthologies. Examples such as selections from *Giants in the Earth*, the powerfully antistereotyping "Young Man Axelbrod" by Sinclair Lewis, Ruth Suckow's "Midwestern Primitive," and an essay from Michael Pupin's memoirs indicate their general level. There are lapses, however. Selections from Edward Bok are very popular in the anthologies, and these tend to define Americanism as economic and material success. Selections about the Jews are very poor; these are discussed elsewhere in this chapter.

It is obviously impractical to ask the compiler of an anthology to include a selection concerning each of the groups making up our population. His selections should, however, have some relationship to the major nationality groups most recently arrived, since they are in special need of interpretation. Looking at a group of books from this point of view we find: two stories about German immigrants; one story about Dutch immigrants; one story about Serbian immigrants; four stories about Scandinavian immigrants; one story about Polish immigrants. This is not a list from any single book but from seven American literature anthologies, widely used. In any one volume, then, one or two stories must bear the entire load of interpreting the immigrant. Most of the stories have to do with immigrants on the soil. Few selections relate immigrant experience in mines, in steel mills, or on the railroads. Unfortunately, Jane Addams' "Beginning the Work at Hull House" appears but once in the anthologies examined. It seems fair to observe that the Scandinavians are over-represented in the anthologies. Where are the Italian-Americans, and the Greek-Americans, and other relative newcomers?

Italian-Americans fare especially badly, for there is no major article or story representing them, in spite of the fact that several excellent short stories and novels have appeared in recent years. Several dialect poems by T. A. Daly are included. The most common of these is "Two 'Mericana Men," which begins:

Beeg Irish cop dat walks hees beat
By dees peanutta stan',
First two, 'tree week w'en we are meet
Es' call me "Dagoman."

Another, appearing but once, is "Mia Carlotta":

Guiseppe, da barbar, he gotta de cash,
He gotta da clo'es an' bigga mustache . . .

A third of the same type is "Da Summer's Come." In the absence of nonstereotyping materials about Italian immigrants, these poems, although clever and innocent in intent, may deepen existing "Dago" or "Wop" stereotypes. The Italians in these poems are comic and fall a little short of achieving real dignity.

One anthology, in sections entitled "These Are Our People" and "Undersanding Others," includes several items which contribute to intergroup understanding. The poem "I've Met in America," by Jonathan Lee, praises unknown Americans such as Mrs. Hoekstra (Dutch) of Grand Rapids and Eric Zollicoffer (German) of Connecticut. A short account of Marguerita Rudolph entitled "A Ukranian at Lawrence High" shows some appreciation of the Ukranian background but is especially concerned with how the school as a social institution serves as an agency of Americanization. The essay, which is well within the realm of high school experience, is realistic and interesting. Relatively few groups are represented in these sections, but attitudes are fostered which can readily be applied to all groups in America. In another anthology the selection "Strange Customs," by Etsu Inagaki Sugimoto, contributes not only an interpretation of Japanese life but also an analysis of certain American customs which seem strange to a person coming from a dissimilar culture. This unfamiliar view of Americans gives the student a fresh perspective and serves as an effective antidote for ethnocentrism. The editorial remarks which precede this selection state that the "cure for prejudice is understanding."

In summary, it should again be emphasized that the textbooks and courses of study very rarely malign any given group of immigrants. Indeed, there are many passages which stress the contributions of specific groups. In the anthologies some injustice is done, ordinarily by presenting the atypical but leaving the impression that it is typical. The most serious defects are the fairly consistent treatment of ethnic groups coming from foreign lands as out-groups, and the loose, sometimes very shallow, concept of Americanization and

of the characteristics of an American. In these matters the textbooks and courses of study can be substantially improved.

The Jewish group

The Jews are here treated as an ethnic group because, contrary to general thinking and to some textbook statements, they do not constitute a race. While there are marked cultural and physical differences among them, their social and cultural tradition is clearly enough defined to put them in the category of an ethnic group.

The Jewish group is particularly significant for this study because of the disturbing tensions between Jews and non-Jews throughout the world today—tensions which are symptomatic of deeper social ills. The problem of anti-Semitism, while by no means as acute here as in Europe, is nevertheless serious. Cases of direct persecution are not unknown; rowdiness, especially in urban centers, is too frequently expressive of prejudices against Semites. Hostility is latent, and conflicts may easily become worse. Actual misinformation or lack of accurate information about the Jews as a group, and about their position in American society, are common phenomena. Ignorance and error breed distrust and isolation which are sociologically weakening and may become dangerously inimical to the national welfare.

In view of the present situation, and remembering the disastrous examples of persecution and scapegoating resulting from the Nazi ideology, writers and users of school teaching materials should be especially careful to make certain that misunderstandings and conflicts between Gentiles and Jews are not fomented, even unconsciously, in the schools. Education should undertake a direct and positive program for improved relations between the two groups; as a part of this program, the materials used in teaching should be subjected to careful scrutiny.

There are about five million Jews in the American population. They are widely distributed in occupation, ability, economic status, and geographical location. So great is the variation among them that there is no typical Jew; that cardinal fact should be emphasized again and again. Jews are not universally distinguishable by physical structure, features, or skin color. There are, in fact, wide variations in appearance within the Jewish group. Variations other

than those purely cultural in character tend to result from nationality; Italian Jews or Jewish Italians differ from Jews in Russia or the United States. There are wide variations in religious belief; three major religious groups exist among the Jews.⁴ In addition, some Jews accept the Catholic or Protestant faiths or adopt agnostic or atheistic positions.

Many Jews fit none of the stereotypes which are so widely accepted by non-Jewish groups. The variety within Jewish life is a factor of great significance for an educational program which comes to grips with the realities of intergroup living in America today. This variety exists within the framework of a powerful unifying tradition. The tradition is sometimes regarded as one of a "persecuted people"; that there has been extreme persecution is obvious; but for the historian the tradition is also a positive one. Achievements in the humanities and the sciences, in art and business, are a part of Jewish history. A strong tendency to cooperation with, as well as separation from, other groups has been evident. Jewish achievement and cooperativeness need recognition in the teaching materials as unifying forces. The Jews have a long history; they are participants in many of the key events and movements of our general culture. The teaching materials which record that culture should provide a balanced perspective of the Jewish record in human history.

In appraising the teaching materials, so far as their influence on the relations between Jews and non-Jews in contemporary America is concerned, it is necessary to examine the direct explanations or descriptions of Jews and Judaism in history and in current life. It is also necessary to examine casual references to Jews, the expressions used, the implications conveyed, and the indirect influences these may have on children and young people. Ethnic elements will be examined in the present chapter, but they should be considered again in connection with the data presented in chapter 8 dealing with Judaism and the religious factors in relations of Jews with other groups.

The first question asked about the treatment of the Jewish people in the texts examined was: To what extent are they and their place

⁴See p. 171.

in history described? To what extent is the Jewish community presented to pupils as a part of the social whole? In view of the history of the Jewish people, their position today, and their relation to current world affairs, it would seem educational wisdom for pupils to be given a carefully balanced and adequate description of them. Actually, such a description is rarely present in the texts or courses of study.

In the world history texts the story of the ancient Hebrews is commonly presented. The Jews appear as the founders of a great monotheism; their relation to the rise of Christianity is invariably, though not always accurately, reported. But the story of the Jews since 79 A.D. is to a large extent ignored, or presented only in connection with sporadic persecutions. Three-fourths of the space allotted the Jews in the world history texts deals with events before the Diaspora, or the dispersion of the Jews in 79 A.D. On the average, about one page of scattered references to events since 79 A.D. appears in each text. Three-fourths of this average page deals with persecutions. In the typical text only about twelve printed lines, and these in the form of scattered mentions, depict the constructive, cooperative phases of the Jewish history of the past twenty centuries.

Such an unbalanced treatment does not seem to be historically justified. It tends to leave pupils with impressions of ancient actions which may readily, but inaccurately, be applied to a modern people. The impression is left of an unchanging, an outdated group—a group which, as one textbook writer puts it, “reached the peak of its development two thousand years ago.”

The treatment of Jews in textbooks in United States history is as unbalanced topically as that in the world histories is unbalanced chronologically. In twenty-one textbooks in this field which were examined there is a total of only 248 lines of direct reference to the Jews. One book makes no mention of them; one has a total of 55 lines; the average is less than twelve lines. And these twelve lines are composed of isolated references, often mere listings; they are not complete statements or direct discussions. Instances of persecution predominate; rarely do these brief references go beyond the description of a relatively stereotyped out-group. Even in the textbooks in sociology or modern problems, where matters of popu-

lation and assimilation are discussed, there are not satisfactory accounts of the composition of the Jewish group, the variety in Jewish culture, or the problems of intragroup as well as intergroup relations confronting modern Jewry. One looks in vain through our commonly used texts for background information about the Jewish group which might be of effective aid in dispelling the popular assumptions and misconceptions which are pillars in the edifice of contemporary prejudice.

A further illustration of the inadequacy with which the Jewish group is described appears in the literary anthologies. As has been said before, material in the anthologies is selected primarily on the basis of its literary merit; but educationally it must also be evaluated in terms of its social implications. Of thirty-four anthologies, fourteen contain no selections about Jews, although they do include selections about other groups in the American population. Only five of the anthologies, most of which are quite voluminous, contain more than two selections about Jews. The effect becomes worse as the excerpts are analyzed. Of the total of forty-eight selections appearing in the thirty-four anthologies, twenty-seven are taken from the Old Testament. In portraying Jewish life, the anthologies are guilty of the same error of chronological unbalance as are the world history textbooks.

A total of six short stories dealing with Jewish life in the United States appears in the anthologies. That is proportionately fewer selections than for certain other ethnic groups, such as the Scandinavians, Germans, and French. The Jews, however, fare no worse than do many of the peoples who have migrated to this country since the late nineteenth century. In both cases the treatment is disproportionately brief.

In these stories the Jew is an immigrant, struggling to become at home in a new land. The blending of Jewish contributions with the full stream of American culture is not seen; few indications are given of the character of Jewish religious experience today; the problems of the contemporary Jewish community are not touched upon. Third and fourth generation Jews appear in only one study, and then as neurotic assimilationists. The anthologies contain excellent portrayals of priests and a few portrayals of praiseworthy Protestant ministers, but a rabbi never appears. So

far as the textbooks and anthologies are concerned, he remains for pupils a man of mystery and strangeness.

One must conclude, on the basis of an examination of widely used texts, that the material about the Jewish group now presented to young Americans in schools is not adequate. It is spotty and unbalanced; it perpetuates certain incorrect stereotypes. It does not present a balanced story of the Jews in history or in American life today. It is inadequate for building in young citizens the foundations of information and understanding which our democratic theory demands. It does not serve to erect bulwarks against the insidious and unwarranted wave of anti-Semitism present in the United States today.

There are very few direct factual errors in references to Jews, although the omissions and unbalances referred to above may readily lead to erroneous impressions. The most outstanding error of fact to which attention must be called is the persistent habit of referring to the Jews as a race. Six history texts, seven "problems" texts, two geographies, and the selections in several anthologies use the term race or racial in connection with Jews. Sometimes the reference is direct, as in the text which states that "there are 4,000,000 of that race in this country." Too few of the texts in any field, even in biology, discuss the concept of race in strictly scientific terms or adequately dispel the Nazi conception of a Jewish race. A less-direct but equally objectionable reference, psychologically, is typified by mention of "racial persecutions" of the Jews in Europe. The vocabulary of group living and group relations is by no means standardized, as has already been emphasized in this report, and lack of precision in the use of common terms tends to perpetuate misconceptions. Indiscriminate usage of such terms as race, racial, and stock in connection with the Jews is a violation of accuracy and of sound educational practice.

While there are other occasional errors of fact about the Jews, most of these are statistical or are matters of detail. The basic difficulty is not incorrect statements, but inadequate or unbalanced statements. The major errors are of omission rather than commission.

As has been pointed out, most of the textbook material about the Jews deals with the ancient Hebrews. Three-fourths of the refer-

ences to Jews since 79 A.D. deal with them as a persecuted people. They are referred to as "those harassed people," as "a people apart," as "wanderers and strangers." They appear in the pages of histories as always in trouble or in exile; in the anthologies they appear as immigrants and outcasts. In world history the student follows a trail of persecution—the Jews are cast out from Jerusalem, wanderers in the Roman Empire, yellow-branded and ghettoed in the Middle Ages, massacred by Crusaders, tortured and expelled from Spain, suspect in France, pogromed in Russia. In the United States history texts examined there were, incidentally, three times as many references to Jewish persecutions in Czarist Russia as in Nazi Germany and Nazi-occupied territory. Very little is said about treatment of the Jews in the United States, but when discussed at all they are refugees or victims of the Ku Klux Klan. Their story as revealed in teaching materials is too often that of "a persecuted people."

This overemphasis on persecution—often made in the most humane spirit—leaves with many pupils the impression that the Jews can never be members of a normal, adjusted, accepted group. Actually, their history is not one of unrelieved tragedy; there are long periods of normal and creative relationships with other groups. Their persecution is not an "inevitable fate," as many pupils must assume on the basis of the texts. The textbooks may intensify an impression that a compulsive destiny dogs the Jews, that their persecution is "normal," and that little can be done to avoid it. In them the ground is prepared for the resignation of conscience to the "inevitable misfortune" of the Jews.

A picture in better balance should be presented. Without minimizing persecution, the Jews should also be seen in normal and constructive relations. Their cultural achievements and contributions, their cooperation in social enterprises, their identification with larger societies need attention as balancing factors for pupils who inevitably generalize on the basis of whatever data are placed before them. Too frequently, by implication at least, the Jews are presented to students as a people apart, not identified with the main society. Pupils sometimes read that Jews dress differently, eat strange foods, and are in general "different." The position of the

Jew as an integral member of the larger society is not clearly shown.

Equally disturbing is the combining of Jews with other groups which lack prestige with many Americans. One text links "Jews and atheists" in a sequence of groups; another refers to "Jews and Communists." These examples are duplicated many times. One text reports that "Jews, Communists, liberal persons, and labor leaders were imprisoned." The effectiveness of the transfer mechanism is well known; the possible psychological repercussions of such passages as those cited should be more carefully guarded against by textbook writers.

Another form in which the out-group impression seems emphasized occurs by identification of an individual as Jewish. Often the textbook writer means to give credit and status to the Jewish group by identifying individuals who represent high achievement. Thus the reader is told of "Samuel Gompers, an English Jew . . .," of Haym Salomon, "a Jew who helped finance Washington's armies. . . ." A list of justices of the Supreme Court adds the explanation, "a Jew," after the name of Justice Brandeis; another text does so after Justice Frankfurter's name.

This question of identifying individuals is a difficult one for the textbook writer. Identification is often intended constructively; but the conferences and surveys on which this report is based do not indicate that indiscriminate identification of this sort is good. Rather, it seems likely to intensify the out-group concept. As explained elsewhere, it is the recommendation of this report that identification of an individual with a group is desirable only when his group membership is pertinent to the point under discussion. The fact that Gompers was a Jew has little to do with the rise of the American Federation of Labor. Certainly, it is not wise to give the group identity of one person in a list (as Justice Brandeis in a list of Supreme Court Justices) without similar identification for the others.

Many influences in American life—the stage and screen, cartoons, certain newspapers, much casual conversation—tend to strengthen and perpetuate unfavorable and inaccurate stereotypes about the Jews. School textbooks should not be included among these in-

fluences. For the most part they are not guilty, certainly not by direct statement. But, again, the necessity for generalizing rapidly and the related necessity for omission sometimes leave impressions of stereotyping.

Many stereotypes about Jews are in common circulation in America. Some of these are malign and some benign; some contradict others. From out-of-school experiences students acquire concepts of Jews as: (1) powerful and secret manipulators of economic forces through control of finance and communication; (2) unscrupulous capitalists; (3) Communists, the carriers of alien, radical ideas; (4) amoral and promiscuous; (5) materialistic; (6) shrewd and cunning; (7) clannish; (8) strange and sinister; (9) loud, crude, and socially aggressive; (10) intellectually superior and bookish; and (11) excitable, sensitive, and emotional. Because these stereotypes are so common and cannot possibly all be true, it is especially important that teaching materials avoid them. The range of difference among Jews is as wide as among gentiles, and it is misleading to generalize in either case.

Certain of these stereotypes appear, at least by implication, in text passages already discussed in connection with persecution and the out-group psychology. Other examples can be given. One book speaks of "the Jew with his wealth and position . . . ;" another indicates that Jews are "highly successful as storekeepers, bankers, and manufacturers." The same text speaks of their achievement in "various professions," but by implication there are no unsuccessful Jews, no skilled or unskilled day laborers among them. The reasons behind the considerable urbanization of modern Jews, and for their frequent choice of some professions in preference to others, are never given.

One anthology includes a selection which combines stereotypes in effective misrepresentation. It refers repeatedly to the Jews as a race and implies their cultural homogeneity. Typical of the tenor of the story, which deals crudely with the psychology of a Jewish immigrant family, is the following passage:

. . . Dorothea, looking at Irwin, hearing him argue in his rather nasal tone, gesturing with his long amber cigarette holder, couldn't blame members of the club, exactly. . . . It wasn't because of Irwin's race . . . maybe the members, themselves, weren't so wonderful . . . and yet

there were her two brothers-in-law, one rather fat, both slow-minded, card-playing, a bit loud and blatant, always bringing money into the conversation . . . Yvette loud, laughing so heavy, mentally; Carolyn, with her cheap talk of money and spending; . . .

Characters of this type do exist in the Jewish group, as in other groups. The difficulty is that only Jews of one type are here presented; the pupil learns (in this anthology) of no other Jews, and he is given no insight into why these particular wealthy, second-generation Jewish-Americans behave as they do. The harm done by such stereotypes, as well as by others, resides in the fact that these qualities are not an exclusively Jewish possession. They do, in fact, occur with as great, or greater, frequency in other groups.

The question of the passages used in literary anthologies is on a par with the question of the use of *The Merchant of Venice* in teaching. Examination of courses of study indicates that this Shakespearean play is often withdrawn from them, in part, at least, because of objections to it raised by groups outside the school. It may be conceded that the play contains the potential ingredients for stereotyping, but the necessity for this interpretation is not conceded. It is the point of view of this study that censorship and blacklisting are not desirable solutions to the problem, and that materials which are factually accurate as far as they go, and of high literary quality, should not be banned from the school program.

Rather, the evil would be remedied by the presentation of balancing materials affording better historical perspective, together with explanatory notes and comments on selected passages so that pupils will not assume the atypical to be typical, will not be encouraged to generalize from inadequate data. *The Merchant of Venice* or such stories as the one quoted above may be used by alert teachers actually to dispel prejudice and deepen understanding. In the case of the play, for example, opportunity is presented for description of the historical situation in which it was written. The producer of teaching materials is obligated, however, to suggest to the teacher, by footnote and by balancing excerpt, such constructive use of the materials. This, rather than censorship and exclusion, is a positive and appropriate approach. The present report should not be interpreted as advocating in any way the arbitrary elimination of materials which are, within their field, accurate and balanced.

Spanish-speaking Americans

One other ethnic group in the United States—the Spanish-speaking group—deserves special reference here because of the intense problems of relations between it and other groups in certain sections of the United States. The estimated three million Spanish-speaking persons living in the United States are chiefly Mexican and Puerto Rican in heritage. Their numbers are greatest in the Southwest, in California, and in certain of the large cities of the North and East. Wherever they live, prejudice against them tends to be strong; distorted stereotypes of them prevail; and discrimination is practiced against them so that the full enjoyment of civil and political rights is not commonly theirs. The fact that many of them are dark-skinned, and are racially somewhat more mixed than are most Americans, increases their difficulties. The level of their education, the types of work in which they engage, the low incomes they earn, and the consequently low living standards which they maintain, tend to give them lower-class status and permit them to obtain but a small share in the rewards of American life.

Evidences of discrimination against Latin American citizens are not difficult to find. Descriptions of the lives of the migratory workers show that in every community they are suspect. Violence and dishonesty and thievery are expected of them. Tavern brawls and “zoot-suit” incidents are given more than adequate space in newspaper accounts. When an American soldier of Spanish ancestry is refused membership in an American Legion post, and a roller-skating rink posts a sign which reads, “Colored Night Every Thursday and Mexican Night Every Wednesday,” it is fairly clear that many Americans rank Spanish-speaking Americans as inferior persons. The educational responsibility for meeting and neutralizing the forces which create such prejudices is a serious one.

Textbooks, in dealing with Mexico, tend either to ignore Latin Americans in the United States or to present a sharply slanted picture of them. History texts deal largely with the Mexican War, the colorful episode of Maximilian and Carlotta at the time of the Civil War, the strained relations following the Mexican Revolution of 1910, and efforts in recent years to cultivate more friendly relations with Mexico for the benefit of American economic inter-

ests. The facts surrounding the migration of Mexicans to the United States are badly stated. Most texts which treat of immigration mention that Mexicans are not subject to the provisions of our Quota Law. A few details concerning the number who have entered the United States, where they have settled, and the types of unskilled work into which they have gone, give no insight into the Mexican-American as a person. Practically nothing is said in explanation of why Mexicans came to this country.

Textbooks for the study of "American problems" are somewhat more descriptive than those in other fields. These accounts tend to emphasize illiteracy, crime and vice, squalid living conditions, and a general reluctance to take advantage of educational opportunities. Occasionally the readiness of Mexican-American children to learn and practice "cleaner and better ways of living" is noted. Retardation in school is, however, the fact about them most frequently mentioned. While exploitation may be recognized, emphasis is more frequently placed on what seems to be the incapacity of the Mexicans to adjust to American folkways, and their determination to live in segregated colonies. No attempt is made to explain these phenomena or to offer constructive suggestions for aiding these people in making what are deemed more satisfactory adjustments.

None of these accounts helps the student to understand the actual Mexican-American. On the one hand, the impression is often given that he is lazy and shiftless except when energized by the prospect of a revolution. The political instability of Mexico is frequently mentioned, but little is said about the constructive work in industrialization, housing, education, and the arts which characterizes the Mexico of today. On the other hand, Mexico is sometimes sentimentally pictured as the land of perpetual blossoms, bullfights, "gaiety and colorfulness," and the Mexicans as people of "charm and simplicity." A few accounts, such as one in a geography text which describes the "Pittsburgh of Mexico," are up-to-date and realistic. The accounts are weakest in describing the social life of Mexicans and their personality structuring. It is apparent that the growing scientific literature on Mexico has been put to too little use in connection with the preparation of textbooks.

The literary anthologies contain very few selections about Mexico or Mexican-Americans. Most of those which do appear tend to reinforce stereotypes. No account pictures the Mexican-American in other than unlovely colors. The incompleteness of such a picture has no justification in literary license or pedagogical precept. Most of the materials convey the idea that Hispanic-Americans are distinctly different from other Americans and, it may be added, in ways which are not superior. The fact that they are predominantly Catholic and are to a large extent of Indian stock tends to put them outside the pale of Anglo-Saxon, white, Protestant civilization.

Even less attention is given to the Puerto Ricans who have chosen to live in the United States. Nearly one-half of these are to be found in New York City. Most of them work in the sweatshop needle trades and live in an area wedged between the Negroes of Harlem and a white residential section. No mention is made of these people in any of the texts. The histories tell how the United States acquired Puerto Rico, mention the benefits we have conferred upon the island, and occasionally refer to the host of unsolved problems which our possession entails.

At no point is the discussion of Spanish-speaking Americans couched in terms of cultural democracy. Their differences are overemphasized, and the disharmony between the two cultures is made to appear so great that it is impossible to include them both under one cultural roof-tree. It is recommended that, in addition to presenting more complete and accurate factual accounts of these peoples, materials be included which present a way of life and a philosophy in support of it quite different from, but not inferior to, those which prevail in countries having an Anglo-Saxon background.

The proximity of Mexico to the United States, the need for hemispheric unity, and the presence in this country of a sizable body of persons of Hispanic cultural background warrant more intensive study of the major features of culture as they are mirrored in the lives of Spanish-speaking Americans. Factual material about the attitudes and daily lives of these people, unglamorized but sensitively presented, should draw upon studies in the fields of economics, sociology, and anthropology as well as upon literary

and artistic productions which reliably portray their way of life. Such accounts should include materials dealing with all the Latin American peoples, not the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans alone.

Summary and Recommendations

The presentation in this chapter of facts about ethnic groups and their treatment in teaching materials is in no sense definitive. The purpose of the chapter has been to make a representative presentation and to deal at sufficient length with a few groups to clarify the general manner in which ethnic groups are treated in teaching materials. General principles have been noted. Particular stress has been placed on the concept of cultural democracy in contrast to the older melting-pot idea, which called for the complete assimilation of all ethnics as rapidly as possible. Basic to the entire discussion has been emphasis on clarity of thinking concerning race, and avoidance of this word where ethnic group is the proper term.

Also underlying the discussion has been the idea of objectives and open-minded appraisal of all ethnic groups on their separate merits. Categorizing such groups as "old" and "new," south European and north European, Slavic and Latin, and so forth, and assigning values to these categories and thus weighing groups, is not a defensible practice. It is equally indefensible to judge individual members of ethnic groups by any group stereotype. To do so is to violate the theme elaborated in a previous chapter—that of full respect for individual worth and dignity. Overemphasis upon the cultural contributions of certain groups, as such, or upon the contributions of a few outstanding individuals in such groups, does not do justice to all the individuals who compose the many ethnic groups in America. It is with these "ordinary" individuals that most Americans have contact. The need is to create an awareness of the true worth of such persons, to come to think of them less and less as members of strange out-groups.

Where it is impossible to present full treatments of many groups, it is recommended that analysis be made of a few in sufficient detail to give substantial form to the principles recommended for the treatment of all. Facts from the fields of history, economics,

sociology, and anthropology, although essential, are not in themselves sufficient for understanding. Literature and the arts, and the democratic practices which should prevail in the conduct of learning activities, are equally important. The problem is emotional as well as intellectual, for social attitudes are compounded of the two elements.

While ethnic groupings have been the main consideration in this chapter, it must be borne in mind that ethnics are also members of racial and religious groups and are so judged. The three factors are jumbled in popular thinking and practice. For clarity of discussion, this chapter and the two succeeding chapters examine them separately. Common to them all are those principles concerning human personality and social groups, previously elaborated, which underlie all soundly democratic human relationships.

Racial Groups in American Life

RACIAL groups are differentiated from ethnic groups chiefly by greater emphasis on biologically determined physical characteristics. Such differences as are readily visible have for a long time played a part, often an unfortunate one, in the judgments made by groups of one another. The racial majority group is quite likely, as history shows, to dislike some of the characteristics of racial minorities and to describe such minorities as "inferior races."

It must be borne in mind that what may appear to be racial is always inextricably entangled with the ethnic and religious. Thinking in racial terms should never be permitted to become rigid.

While it must continually be borne in mind that many group differences loosely referred to as racial are not so in a strict sense, there are certain groups in the American population clearly distinguishable on the basis of physical characteristics. The Negro group is one such, as are also various national-origin groups from Asia—the American-Chinese, American-Filipino, and American-Japanese. Because of tension existing today between Negroes and whites and between Orientals and Occidentals, the treatment of these groups in instructional material has particular pertinence to the social health of the United States.

The American Indians

Before returning to these groups, however, certain data bearing on the treatment of another racial minority—the American Indians should be reported. There are, of course, many references to the Indians, primarily in textbooks devoted to American history. Two major attitudes are revealed. The first is that of the "cruel, blood-thirsty savages," the pioneer heritage that "the only good Indian is a dead Indian." In this attitude are unquestioned statements indicating that "the interests of the white pioneers took precedence over the rights of the Indians." The second attitude—and the two are frequently to be found in the same book—is that of "the noble

redskin," the high-minded "son of nature." Almost without exception, no convincing picture of Indians as a group or of the cultural characteristics of Indian life, past or present, is presented to pupils.

Two passages are fairly typical of the impersonal, vague, blurred picture presented to pupils of the Indians as American citizens. Both are from accounts of American history. The first is:

The government of the United States established reservations upon which tribes might be secure in the possession of their land. Many tribes still live on such reservations. Others have had their land divided among the members of the tribe so that each person owns a portion. Schools have been built and teachers provided so that Indian children may be well trained. By act of Congress in 1924 all Indians are now American citizens.

Another gives an uncritically ethnocentric report as follows:

As the condition of the roving red man became more and more hopeless, the government put forth efforts to civilize them. Gradually the chief aim of the Indian service became educational. By 1928 about 35,000 pupils were in attendance in the public schools near the Indian reservations, for whom the government paid tuition fees. Furthermore, an attempt was made to break down the tribal organization of the Indian. . . . This measure offered any Indian who would give up his tribal allegiance a piece of land and United States citizenship. . . . While the Dawes Act, together with later legislation, was on the whole successful, two hundred Indian reservations, scattered over twenty-four states, included, in 1927, an area as large as New England and New York combined. Many Indians today are thrifty and prosperous, and some of the Osages in Oklahoma have acquired great wealth as a result of the discovery of oil on their lands. In 1924, all Indians were made citizens of the United States.

These accounts do little to alter the prevailing stereotypes of Indians, or to prepare pupils for more constructive attitudes toward fuller participation by Indians in American life. The cultural studies of Indian life are rarely reflected in the textbooks. Pupils are given little information about the Indians of today or about the application of cultural democracy to their role in American life. Courses of study and textbooks should be better informed by anthropological data, should present materials to counterbalance present emphasis on struggle and warfare, and should give more attention to the contemporary problems and achievements of American Indians.

Negroes in America

The way in which Negroes and white persons get along together in our society is one important measure of the degree to which democracy has been achieved in America. The tensions and conflicts between them reveal the length of the road ahead of us. The fact that most Negroes are descended from persons who came to this country involuntarily, and that Negroes constitute the largest minority group in our society, underline these generalizations. Negroes protest "second-class" citizenship, and point to numerous ways in which they are denied full participation in democracy; while large numbers of white persons insist upon keeping the Negro "in his place." We can hardly deny democracy to people of color at home and expect to gain the confidence and good will of the colored peoples abroad. It is our responsibility to see that democracy works equally well for colored and white citizens. Education in America can help to achieve this kind of democracy by giving adequate attention to all the groups which together form the American people. Teaching materials must play a careful part in establishing a basis for understanding and cooperation between Americans who are colored and Americans who are white.

The general topics under which Negroes are most often considered fall chiefly in the field of history and deal largely with the slavery regime and with the Reconstruction era following the War between the States. Approximately seven-ninths of the content about Negroes in the American history textbooks examined is found under these two topics. The student is introduced to the Negro, in most of these texts, with the year 1619 when a small number of Africans were landed and sold to planters in Virginia. Only occasional references are made to the Negro as an individual in connection with the development of the plantation system, the slavery regime, and the widening breach between the North and the South. The position of the free Negro in society is scantily treated. Only a few texts mention his share in the Civil War, and these usually fail to mention him as a fighting man. But a great many tell of his share in the failures of the Reconstruction governments.

The treatment of the Negro since emancipation has many gaps which need filling. The internal migration of Negroes, especially from the South to the North since 1917, is a largely undeveloped

theme. Such special subjects as discrimination against the Negro, the Negro in military combat, the achievements of talented Negroes and leaders of the race and of the masses of Negroes, are not dealt with adequately. The pages immediately following discuss several of the areas in which omissions or misplaced emphasis are common.

There is overemphasis on the year 1619 as marking the beginning of Negroes in the New World. It does, of course, mark the beginning of Negro slavery within the limits of what is now the United States. But the fact that the Spaniards earlier had brought Negroes to America is often omitted. The inclusion of Negroes in the expeditions by Coronado, and Balboa, and by the Italian, Fray Marcos, is ignored.

It is helpful to recall that the Negro was stripped culturally when he was brought to this country. Only in recent years has the world of scholarship discovered the variety and richness of the Negro cultures of Africa. Knowledge of and pride in this cultural background exist among few Negro-Americans. More than other immigrants, Negroes were forced from the beginning to learn the ways of a culture strange to them. Their acculturation has been rapid; they have widely accepted and adhered to American ideals, values, and cultural objectives.

Africa is usually dealt with in world history and geography textbooks as a continent of strange and backward peoples, except, of course, for the Europeans who live there. Native people are assumed to possess only the simplest culture, vastly inferior to our own. The Negro, having come from such a place, is seen as a man without a worthy past. The following passage illustrates this emphasis on primitivism:

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, many African Negroes were captured and sold into slavery. The natives now living there have few cultural achievements of their own creation. They are a backward race, speaking many dialects. Their religious beliefs are largely primitive, in the form of nature and ancestor worship. Crude agriculture and hunting are their main means of livelihood.

Such a picture of Africa is inadequate. It minimizes cultural achievements by saying that "The natives . . . have few cultural achievements of their own creation." Their religious beliefs and

way of life are called primitive and crude, and the people are referred to as a "backward race." Scientific research and scholarship reveal that African social organization is complex, and that African cultural achievements are far greater than is generally known. The textbooks, however, as a rule do one of two things: They either say nothing about African culture and achievement, and thereby deny by omission that they are worthy of mention; or they state that the people are backward and simple. There is need for re-examination of these concepts in the light of scientific findings. The facts concerning African culture have a bearing upon the competence of the Negro as a man.

In regard to the treatment of the Negro slave and his reaction to slavery, a tendency to take the position that he was well treated and cared for is shown by a large number of texts. The great majority say that the slaves were well treated, contented, and happy. One textbook says that "the descriptions of slave life which have come down to us vary greatly," but decides that "on the whole, the slaves of the South were considerably treated. . . ." Denying that the picture presented in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is representative, the authors of one text feel that the picture presented by Joel Chandler Harris's *Uncle Remus* is more indicative of actual relationships between master and slave. That view is set forth in the following passage:

While no doubt there were individual plantation owners and overseers who exhibited the cruelty of Simon Legree in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, such cases were exceptional. Joel Chandler Harris's charming picture of Uncle Remus . . . reveals a happier relationship between the two races which could be found in countless cases. . . . They [the slaves] were, in most cases, adequately fed and cared for, and they submitted in general to their lot without protest.

The following statement is a generalization about the life of the slave as being somewhat rosy though not without thorns:

The great mass of the slaves lived happy and contented lives: but they sometimes had to endure great hardships and suffering.

The prevalence of expressions describing the slave as happy and contented is striking.

Fortunately the great majority of them [slaves] were not seriously disturbed by their social status. If their masters cared for them properly

and fed them well—and this was generally the case except in some localities—they remained happy, irresponsible, and reasonably contented with their lot.

The system of values which led to the use of the term “fortunately” in this passage is not in keeping with our American concept of the worth and dignity of the individual. Seldom do we catch glimpses of Negro life and the institution of slavery from an in-group point of view.

There is no dearth in historical scholarship of indications of unrest and dissatisfaction among the slaves because of their position. At least three revolts among them were the then “most dangerous threats in the United States.” One of these is mentioned in some of the texts; others make no mention of any insurrection. Slave revolts were both numerous and important, the more than one hundred such revolts which occurred clearly indicated discontent. The revolt most often mentioned is that led by Nat Turner. This uprising is usually attributed to Northern abolitionists and is not often related to discontent among the slaves themselves.

Rebellion was not the only way in which the Negro protested against slavery. His attempts to escape the slave system are recorded in the flight of large numbers of Negroes into free Northern territory and into Canada. The need for enactment of fugitive slave legislation is indicative of a long struggle against slavery by the slaves themselves. Action by legal means was not limited to Dred Scott. The participation of Negroes in the abolition movement must be considered, for it produced such outstanding figures as Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, and others. In addition, many Negroes purchased their freedom.

How do the textbooks ordinarily consider the one insurrection most frequently mentioned, that led by Nat Turner? It is usually mentioned in connection with the abolition movement and explained as a result of Northern abolitionist efforts rather than of Negro unrest. Comment upon the insurrection is usually brief, rarely more than four lines. The leader, Nat Turner, is variously described as a “religious fanatic,” “ignorant,” “illiterate”; one book refers to him as “literate,” and another as “intelligent.” The most frequent account, however, is similar to the following:

Resentment turned into alarm when the worst slave uprising the South had ever experienced occurred in the very year that *The Liberator* appeared. Under the leadership of Nat Turner, an ignorant Negro preacher, slaves in Virginia massacred about sixty white people, most of whom were women and children.

Notwithstanding the contented slave theme, the following account reflects the fear of slave uprisings. Blame is attached to Northerners who published such literature as *The Liberator*:

In 1831, the same year that *The Liberator* appeared, this specter [slave rebellion] became reality when Nat Turner, a negro religious fanatic, led an insurrection against the whites in Southampton County, Virginia.

In only a few of the texts examined is it indicated that Negroes themselves played an important part in the operation of the underground railroad system. They were not, as a people, merely the passive beneficiaries of aid offered by sympathetic Northerners. To the extent that they found it possible, they helped one another in achieving successful flight to free territory. Teaching materials could more nearly accurately portray this situation.

It is usually assumed that all Negroes came to America as slaves. When they are cast exclusively in our histories in the role of slaves, the student too easily derives the impression that such a role is the only one befitting them. The texts frequently do not mention the fact that there were many free Negroes in the country during the flourishing years of the slavery regime. The few which do indicate this do so either by casual mention or indirectly by discussion of the abolitionist movement and the laws enacted to effect the Negro's freedom. The following statement implies that "all" Negroes were slaves, and says nothing about the nearly half million free Negroes in the United States in 1860, or the still larger proportion in the country earlier in the century:

For more than three hundred years there have been Negroes in America. During the first 250 years of this time they were slaves working for their masters in the cotton and tobacco fields of the South.

But all the textbooks are not completely deficient in this respect nor do they all make the error of the text just quoted. For example, one points out that there were free Negroes in the Virginia Colony:

In 1619 a few Negroes were brought in. These also served a term of years, and at least one of them acquired land and indentured another Negro to help with his crops.

Presentation of the fact that one of the Negroes referred to indentured another to "help with his crops" reveals a factor other than race which helps to define status. This passage is virtually alone in suggesting that some of the first Negroes brought to the English colonies were not slaves for life, and that the system of slavery developed gradually instead of appearing as a full-fledged institution in 1619.

Emphasis in discussions of the Negro during Reconstruction days is upon his participation in corrupt government. The sociological abyss which had to be spanned to become a free member of society is not adequately explained, nor are easier and more satisfactory adjustments stressed. The "'joy my freedom" theme is often sounded without an attempt to point out the inadequacy of the machinery set up in the South to assist the Negro in making necessary adjustments to a new life of greater personal responsibility. The confusions and bewilderments growing out of the sudden social change are not given appropriate weight.

The Reconstruction governments are described in most of the texts as corrupt and inefficient; a number of accounts include pictures or artists' drawings of disorderly legislative sessions. Extravagance, corruption, social crudity, and incompetence are played up beyond reasonable warrant. The social, economic, and political chaos which prevailed in the South is not adequately related to the unfortunate, though almost inevitable, election of incompetent Negroes to posts of responsibility. The fact that not all Negroes were incompetent, and that not all white officeholders were competent, is not made as clear as it should be.

A few texts do present more carefully balanced accounts. A passage from one of these reads as follows:

In the post-Civil War period corruption was not confined to the South, for, as we shall see, it had a free hand in the North. Bad as reconstruction was, there was a constructive side to the governments which is seldom mentioned. Much-needed economic and social reconstruction was started. Roads, bridges, buildings and levees, which had been destroyed or suffered for repairs during wartime, were rebuilt. Considerable railroad building was put underway. Perhaps the most

important contribution of the carpetbaggers was in the field of education. Many southern constitutions made their first provision for compulsory free public education modeled upon northern systems, and for the first time education was provided for Negroes. When corruption did not enter into these enterprises, conservatives usually supported them. On the whole, the new constitutions were moderate and an improvement over those replaced.¹

This textbook is virtually alone in pointing to some of the worthy achievements of the governments in which Negroes participated. Most of the others limit their discussions to corruption and extravagance without reference to constructive activities.

The behavior of liberated Negroes is described in most of the textbooks examined. They are seen as a people celebrating the advent of their freedom. Some of the texts describe the Negro as overwhelmed with joy, and agree that his behavior was appropriate to his excitement:

When one old Negress was asked why she had left her master's place, she answered, "What fur? 'Joy my freedom!" And many of them did "enjoy their freedom" in strange and alarming ways. They had no idea of "earning a living."

From another text comes the following statement in a similar vein:

With no thought of the morrow, tens of thousands migrated to the cities, crowded about the federal troops or roamed the country on a glorious holiday.²

Many of the books describe the Negro both as a contented slave and a wildly celebrating recipient of freedom. No effort is made to reconcile these points of view, even negatively by showing the Negro as a person capable of accepting philosophically whatever fate brings him.

The difficulty in these accounts of irresponsible Negroes during the days of Reconstruction lies not in error of factual detail so much as in the stereotype of happy-go-lucky irresponsibility they

¹ In the 1942 edition this passage appeared as a footnote. In 1947 edition the material appears in the text in expanded form and follows the same point of view.

² Revised in 1947 edition to read as follows: "The first result of freedom for some of the former slaves was the urge to shiftlessness and the desire to move about. Some migrated to the cities, crowded about the federal troops, or roamed the country. . . . The great majority of the Negroes, however, remained on the land where they either worked for very low wages or rented land. . . ."

develop. How countless Negroes have since learned responsibility and adjusted themselves to their new socio-economic roles is a topic inadequately dealt with in most texts. Though not all Negroes have successfully adjusted to their present position in America, at best an equivocal one, a very great number have. The results of general and vocational education are not appraised. The way in which Negroes have entered a wider range of occupations and achieved upgrading while on the job, often against heavy odds, is seldom more than alluded to. The influence of labor unions upon the fortunes of Negro workers is seldom mentioned. Reference is not made to the role which living conditions play in the behavior of such groups as Negro-Americans. No note is taken of the elaborateness of the class structure of Negro society and its effects upon that mobility of persons which it is generally assumed constitutes progress for the race. Descriptions of the religious, family, clique, and general cultural activities of Negroes are either absent or so general that they are almost without meaning.

One significant phase of the problem of more fully incorporating the Negro into our culture is that associated with his internal migration. It involves the problem of urbanization as well, since Negroes, when moving north, have usually gravitated toward the cities. The problems of acculturation thus created require consideration in our texts.

Accounts should provide necessary background for an understanding of segregation, race riots, unionism, and general unrest and insecurity as they affect the Negro group. A few American history texts note such facts as that between 1910 and 1920 more than 300,000 Southern Negroes came to Northern cities, and that during the following decade more than 1,000,000 came. It is pointed out that both World Wars I and II, with their attendant labor shortages, stimulated this northward movement. There is little analysis of how the Negroes were received, how they adapted to their new environment, or how disapproved behavior patterns exhibited by Negroes in these circumstances compared with those of other groups whose members went through a similar adaptive process at an earlier date.

It is unreasonable to expect texts other than those designed for "problems" and sociology courses to deal with such matters in any

detail, but texts in these fields are as deficient as those in such subjects as civics and American history. Studies of specific communities such as Harlem could be used as type studies, but no attempts of this kind as yet are common to the textbooks. When a Negro section is described, it is usually pictured as 100 percent slum. Discussions of housing as a major urban problem affecting Negroes profoundly, usually take little note either of the effects of bad housing on Negro personality or of programs pointing the way to a solution.

The Negro's achievement as a semiskilled or skilled worker, tradesman, small businessman, professional man, or entrepreneur is neglected. The fact is infrequently mentioned that large numbers of Negroes hold responsible positions and earn comfortable incomes in jobs under the United States Civil Service and under the civil service systems of states and municipalities. The resistances which Negroes have encountered in making progress and the steps by which they have overcome them through their own efforts are insufficiently emphasized.

A few texts deal at some length with the economic and social life of the Negro-American today, mentioning such individuals as Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois and such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Julius Rosenwald Fund, whose concern for the improvement of the Negro's status has been outstanding. Other texts, making up the larger category, fail even to mention any recent persons whose achievement is outstanding. It would be wiser to mention no Negro leader by name than to mention only that of Booker T. Washington, as is frequently done. He remains a controversial and not wholly representative figure; the social philosophy which he advocated for Negro-Americans is rejected by many of them today as outdated.

It cannot be said that problems, sociology, and civics texts have a much better record in presenting the achievements of Negroes and their leaders than have history texts. A recent problems book states that Negroes "have made a unique contribution to the pattern of American civilization." It refers to contributions in the fields of scientific agriculture, literature, and music (jazz and the spiritual), but specifically mentions only two Negroes—

Paul Laurence Dunbar and Richard Wright. It is true that there is no merit in the inclusion of lengthy lists of outstanding Negroes. But discussions of achievements in various fields benefit from the concreteness resulting from mention of two or three carefully selected persons prominent in each. Brief statements which clearly identify each should accompany such mention.

Treatment in the texts of the history of the Negro in America, his contributions to our culture, and his present status in American society tends to lack adequacy and balance. A few textbooks and the newer courses of study make an obvious effort to present a more balanced picture of the Negro in America and Africa than has previously been given. This is done by mentioning a limited number of Negro contributions and the achievements of a few well-known individuals, and by exhortations to good will and, not infrequently, to sympathy. Such material is generally isolated in a special topic or topics; then there is a lapse into traditional treatment which fails to integrate the special material presented.

Although there is occasional mention of contributions by Negroes to American culture, recognition of their contributions is narrow and limited in most teaching materials. Negro contributions to science and invention, though they have been noteworthy, are for the most part omitted. Little is said of Negro achievement in music, literature, and art, the spiritual being an exception. Achievements in medicine, engineering, and other branches of human knowledge and endeavor are largely ignored.

It has been common practice to speak of the "Negro problem." Social scientists and leading thinkers are now pointing out that there is no "Negro problem," but a social condition and a problem in democracy. Although consideration of the problems of democracy is the purpose of twenty of the texts examined, only two of these present an analysis of social conditions as they specifically relate to the Negro. This indicates serious neglect of one of the most vital problem areas facing our country.

Little or nothing is said, for example, about the failure of the franchise to operate in relation to the great mass of Negro-Americans. Of the twenty popular problems textbooks examined, only five mention the Negro in connection with the franchise. Of the nineteen civics texts, only three mention the Negro in relation to

the right to vote. In the books which do mention the Negro, the discussion for the most part does no more than state that the Fifteenth Amendment gave him the right to vote. They imply that since the passage of the constitutional amendments affecting his status in America, the Negro has enjoyed complete freedom of the ballot and equal participation with other groups in democratic processes. The statement that "Amendment XV gives the Negro the right to vote" is indicative of the treatment found in most of these books. With this statement the subject of Negro suffrage is dismissed. To leave the student with the belief that all is well, despite the inability of large numbers of Negroes to exercise the right to vote, is to leave him misinformed.

A few civics texts face squarely the issue of Negro suffrage. The following represents one approach:

Even today Negroes rarely vote in our Southern states; they are excluded by certain laws which on their surface seem applicable to whites and Negroes alike. For instance, some states require a voter to prove his ability to read and write, others ask that he explain some section of the Constitution, and others demand the presentation of a tax receipt. A white voter may be accepted on trust by the election officials, while a Negro is required to show his tax receipt or display an understanding of the Constitution worthy of a technical expert. Those Negroes who could pass the election board may be kept away from the polls by the fear of punishment in the form of losing jobs or business. The net result of these regulations and discriminations is that the great majority of Southern Negroes do not vote.³

This recognition that the ballot is denied to Negroes, and analysis of the manner in which it is done, make clear to the student that here is one area in which democracy is not functioning as well as it might. But the exceedingly small number of books which make a similar approach to Negro suffrage affords little opportunity for a large proportion of students in our schools to learn about the difficulties in voting which confront American citizens of color.

³ Revised in 1944 edition to read as follows: "At the present time Negro suffrage in some states exists more in theory than in practice. Laws requiring a citizen to prove that he has paid a poll tax before he may vote prevent many Negroes as well as whites from exercising the suffrage. Others are excluded by requirements that the voter be able to read and write or to explain a section of the Constitution to the satisfaction of the election board. These laws permit considerable leeway in interpretation and give officials who administer them the opportunity to discriminate if they wish. Those Negroes . . ." (*continued as in quotation above*).

Although civil liberties are not fully enjoyed by Americans who are colored, only a negligible number of books dealing with the problems of democracy have anything to say about this deprivation. They point out that no person may be deprived of life, liberty, or property without "due process of law," and discuss the right of trial by jury. But the failure of the laws embodying these rights to operate effectively, especially with respect to the Negro, is rarely alluded to. Fair and impartial trial is not always given the Negro, and a suspected Negro sometimes pays the major penalty even without trial. While many individual white Americans do not fully enjoy the civil liberties guaranteed them by state and federal bills of rights, colored Americans suffer as a group through their violation.

The practice of segregation points up a particular type of relationship between groups. Its practice in America reflects the nature of Negro-white relations and reveals the Negro as a member of an out-group in a predominantly white society. Segregation denies individual freedom. It gives group cleavage a sharper outline, acts as a barrier to understandings and friendships, and institutionalizes out-group status. It thus presents a serious social problem to a society which cherishes democratic institutions.

The social studies bear a heavy responsibility for developing social sensitivity in regard to such questions as segregation. In sociology and problems textbooks one would expect to discover treatment of this problem, as has already been emphasized. In spite of the fact that there is practiced in the schools themselves one form of segregation affecting several million Americans, only eight problems texts out of twenty mention the subject at all. One text devotes three chapters to American education but does not mention segregation in the schools. Another devotes a lengthy chapter to education, discussing such topics as "How much is education needed?" and "In what ways is education available for everybody?" But even here the opportunity is not utilized of considering such problems as inequalities in educational opportunity for Negroes.

Texts are prone to discuss other forms of educational inequality but largely to ignore those with a racial foundation. Differentials due to economic factors are chiefly stressed. Variations between

regions and states, those within states, and particularly those affecting young people in rural and urban areas sharply contrasted as to wealth, are frequently noted. The racial basis of inequality is largely taboo.

A few texts, however, do take cognizance of segregation in education; some treat it extensively, others briefly. Some deal with it in such a way that it appears to conflict in no way with democratic ideals and to present no social problems. The following passage illustrates this approach:

Booker T. Washington, one of the greatest of Negro leaders, advocated that the Negro should become industrially educated first of all, and that as he showed himself worthy he would be given more privileges by the white people. A few Negroes now, and more later, might aspire to the highest positions in business and government. Socially, the races are to remain separate.

There are problems textbooks which do not present segregation as an established institution to be accepted without question, but as a practice open to review. These constitute a group of a little less than a third of the texts examined. In discussions of education and inequalities of opportunity there is, in these books, recognition of inequalities resulting from segregation as well as those due to other causes. The following passage, for example, makes a comparative analysis of the conditions of inequality and indicates where they are found:

Some schools have well-equipped, modern buildings and an adequate supply of up-to-date textbooks and other study equipment. Their teachers are well trained and well paid, and the schools are open for full nine-month terms. High schools are available for all who wish to attend. Other schools are housed in ramshackle buildings; their textbooks are worn and old, and there are too few of them. Teachers are poorly paid and are often themselves inadequately educated. The school term is only seven months or less. High schools are few, and there are often large areas without any high school. These contrasts are found between states and sections of the country, between urban and rural areas in the same state, and between white schools and Negro schools in the states where separate schools are maintained.

This passage presents a more balanced approach to the problems of inequalities in education. In such a presentation segregation is considered objectively, even though briefly and indirectly.

A different approach to educational opportunity as it relates to segregation is made in the following lines:

Unfortunately, education really is not available to everyone. . . . Indeed, if we take into account the isolated communities and racial discrimination, we find that many children still do not have the opportunity of formal education at all.

The author observes here a noneconomic factor in segregation as it relates to educational opportunity; this, he says, is "racial discrimination." As here used, the term involves consideration of inequalities in educational opportunity in schools which may not have a dual system but nevertheless engage in practices which effectively deny equality of opportunity. The passage is brief, but serves to point up an approach to the problem neglected in most of the other problems texts.

One book deals at greater length and realistically with the problem of segregation. The following passage is illustrative:

In some states he [the Negro] is segregated at all community gatherings, in conveyances, and in hotels and restaurants. Some employers bar Negro workers, and a number of labor unions refuse membership to Negroes. Even the United States army and navy have segregated Negroes into separate companies. Is it any wonder that in recent years the Negroes have asked why they should fight for the preservation of democracy when so many rights of citizens are denied to them?⁴

⁴ An even more praiseworthy statement appears in the 1948 edition, as follows: "Negroes suffer from most of the discriminations practised against foreigners, as well as many which are applied to them alone. Even in the northern states they are expected to 'know their place,' to accept menial positions, to be deferential to white folks, and not to go into hotels, restaurants, and amusement places which white people frequent. Since many labor unions bar them from membership, they are compelled to accept the most undesirable jobs at the lowest of wages. As unskilled laborers, they are the first ones to lose their jobs in hard times. If they desire to enter the professions of law, medicine, dentistry, or teaching, they find it extremely difficult to gain admission to universities. Because of their color and because of low income, they are compelled to live in the worst slums of our big cities.

"In the South, Negroes are compelled to suffer all of the discriminations practised against them in the North as well as additional ones. The Negroes are separated from the whites in schools, trains, trolleys, busses, waiting rooms, and restaurants. In many states, by means of poll taxes and other devices, they are prevented from voting or holding public office. In some states, a Negro in a dispute with a white man has little opportunity for justice in the courts. Negro schools are usually more poorly equipped and the teachers are not so well trained as in the schools for whites. In short, the Negro is condemned as shiftless and inferior, but little opportunity is given him to rise above ignorance and poverty."

Another text presents, without comment, a factual account of efforts to prove in the courts that segregation constitutes a denial of equal protection under the law. The fact is noted that some segregation laws have been declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court and that others have not. Mention is also made of the legal requirement that where separate facilities are provided they must be equal in every respect. The author might well, at this point, have shown how far, in reality, the facts square with judicial theory.

A text in elementary sociology emphasizes the facts of segregation and of inferior educational opportunities for Negroes. The case is summarized thus:

Wherever separate schools are maintained for Negroes and for whites, the Negro school is almost certain to be inferior—the building usually old, out of repair, and ill-equipped, the teachers as a rule meagerly trained and poorly paid, the classes large and the attendance laws not strictly enforced.

After dismissing as shortsighted the argument that Negroes should receive an education inferior to that which white children receive, on the ground that they pay less per capita in taxes, the author presents in parallel columns striking statistical data about education as they bear upon the two races. Facts concerning lengths of school terms, teachers' salaries, total expenditure per school child, and the like, all demonstrate the inferior position in which the Negro child finds himself.

What the problems textbooks say or fail to say about segregation as it relates to education has been discussed at length because therein lies one of the best opportunities for such texts to deal with segregation in its broader aspects. The problem can most easily be approached in classes through a study of its application in schools themselves.

We have already seen how and to what extent the teaching materials deal with segregation in general. Only a small number of the problems books have anything to say on the subject. An even smaller number of texts contain anything about discrimination aimed at Negro-Americans. The courses of study occasionally mention discrimination and ask for instruction upon it; the great majority do not deal with the topic at all.

The comments in the problems textbooks are usually pointed, though brief. One points out that Negroes find few opportunities to make a living by farming and often suffer from the handicap of being share croppers. In industry, it is pointed out, they have been the "last to be hired and the first to be fired." They have been victims of lynchings and have suffered through race riots. Such rights as have been guaranteed them by the Bill of Rights and the Fourteenth Amendment are in one way or another circumvented, so that "millions of Negroes in this country do not enjoy the same civil liberties as whites." One text summarizes the whole problem by saying, "Negroes have always been given less than their democratic rights."

A widely used American history text, after describing the denial of accommodations to Negroes in the South, continues as follows:

If this policy suggests discrimination, one should remember that the best hotels in the Northern cities are always "full" when a Negro asks for a room. And how often have you seen a Negro guest in the dining room of a first-class Northern hotel?

The author offers in addition the shrewd comment that "the line between the two races is neither straight nor logical."

Negro literature is replete with protests against discrimination and other injustices. But none of them is included in the anthologies examined; the writings, of whatever nature, of Negro authors are very seldom selected.

In the literary materials of school anthologies the Negro character is usually fitted into a "tight mold" or confined to about a half dozen types. Seven major stereotypes have been identified. The contented slave, the wretched freedman, the comic Negro, the local color type, the exotic primitive type, the brute Negro, and the tragic mulatto. Illustrations of these abound in the anthologies, rarely in a balanced picture, ordinarily neglecting other characteristics among Negroes.

The musical Negro stereotype is very common. In some cases the Negroes as a race are described as musical; such comments attribute a high degree of musicality to every Negro and associate it with race rather than with culture. The following comment does these things:

The Negro race is richly endowed with the three-fold gift of rhythm, harmony, and quick emotionalism. From these traits music comes easily; indeed, inevitably.

According to this, the Negro *must* be musical. In another it is said that:

Negroes always have been fond of singing and dancing; and the banjo has been a favorite musical instrument with them.

One textbook of more than 600 pages mentions the Negro only under spirituals, folk songs, and ballads. Economic, intellectual, and artistic achievements, other than musical, are not mentioned.

Large numbers of Negroes have indeed been found to possess great musical talent, but this does not warrant the generalization that musicality is a racial endowment. To say that the Negro is musical, with an all-inclusive connotation, is merely to reinforce a popular stereotype.

Another popular stereotype found in the teaching materials is that of the Negro as a mentally inferior person. The fact that slavery prevailed in the cotton fields of the South and not in the factories of the North is often explained in terms of the Negro's presumed inferiority and incapacity to acquire the skills necessary for factory work. Consider the following statement:

The extensiveness of cotton cultivation and the unsuitability of slaves for factory labor discouraged the development of manufacturing in the South.

This statement points to a quality allegedly resident in the Negro which made him unsuitable for the factory on the one hand, but highly suitable for the plantations on the other. The failings of the system of slavery itself are rarely pointed out in explanation of the fact that it succeeded for some time in the South but failed in the North virtually from the start. The margin of profit required in the operation of the slave system is rarely shown to be a factor of importance. The small Northern farms had to operate on a small profit margin, making slavery impossible.

A variety of reasons—historical, economic, and geographical—account for the early establishment of industry in New England. Factors other than those often falsely ascribed to the Negro as racial attributes account for the fact that few Negroes found

employment in Northern factories, and none on a slave basis. These must be given due weight in order to avoid oversimplifying the growth and development of slavery in terms of the racial identity of the slaves. Placing the burden of explanation on racial incapacity reinforces the stereotype of mental inferiority.

Negroes are often referred to as superstitious in the teaching materials. The following reference to the Ku Klux Klan is illustrative:

. . . the Klansmen struck terror into the hearts of the superstitious Negroes. . . . Newspapers carried sensational stories of the miraculous power of these extraordinary human beings in order still more to frighten the Negroes.

Another text includes a passage which lends itself to a racial interpretation of group traits:

Their meetings were held at night, and new members were initiated with pompous ritualistic ceremonies—factors which were well calculated to appeal to the emotional nature of the negro. . . .

Under the circumstances some elements of superstition within the group would not be remarkable, yet superstition cannot properly be assumed to be characteristic of the Negro group as a whole.

In an elementary social studies reader there are several stories dealing with Negroes, whose titles reveal a theme based upon superstition: such titles as "Voices in the Graveyard" and "Three Watermelons and One Ghost." There are, however, some examples which tend to offset this stereotype. In the story "Then Gabriel Blew His Horn" a Negro hunter is shown who possesses intelligence, skill, and resourcefulness. He is further portrayed as an individual free from superstition in spite of the magic and mystery so commonly found in the Santee Delta country in which the scene is laid. Material which counteracts stereotyping with respect to superstition is badly needed, since superstition is one of the most widely held of Negro stereotypes.

There is in the teaching materials a widespread tendency to compare the Negro to a child. Especially is this true in the books which portray his life during the transition from slavery to freedom which immediately followed emancipation. But the stereotype is not limited to this period.

In the following lines the Negro is seen in the transition period:

What part did the Negroes play? They were like puzzled children. All their lives they had been held in slavery and had been denied education and political rights. It is not difficult to understand how in their ignorance they could become the tools of dishonest carpetbaggers and scalawags.

In another passage a paternalistic and similarly sympathetic attitude is expressed. This is a benign approach evidencing extreme oversimplification:

Ruffians have maltreated him, rascals have misled him, philanthropists established a bank for him, but the South, with the North, protests against injustice to this simple and sincere people.

Neither all children nor all Negroes are either "simple" or "sincere."

In literary anthologies, in elementary readers, and in other teaching materials the Negro frequently appears in a comic stereotype. In many cases the ridiculous furnishes the basic element in the humor. Outside the school the "comic Negro" stereotype receives strong reinforcement from the motion picture, radio, and theater. The Negro end men of minstrel fame have been followed by "Two Black Crows," "Amos and Andy," and "Stepin Fetchit" and are likely to be followed by fresh examples. Counteractive educational devices are needed to prevent the perpetuation of this comic stereotype. In the following lines a mixture of comic ridiculousness and mental inferiority is presented:

Children coming home for the holidays were both amused and delighted to learn that Nancy Breckenridge was to be the Negro bride. "Nancy a bride! Oh, la!" they exclaimed. Why Nancy must be forty years old. . . . Nancy was black as a crow and had rather a startling look in that dazzling white satin dress and the pure white flowers pinned to her kinks. . . . As was the custom, the whole household went to the quarters to witness the wedding. . . . My husband advanced and made some remarks to the effect that this marriage was a solemn tie, and there must be no shirking of its duties; the two must behave and be faithful to each other; he would have no foolishness. These remarks, though by no means elegant, fitted the occasion exactly. There were no high flights of eloquence which the darky mind could not reach.

In discussing stereotypes of the Negro found in the teaching materials, it is not assumed that these characteristics do not exist in

some members of the group. It would be absurd to deny that there are some Negroes who are musical, mentally inferior, superstitious, childish, or comic—or even all these at the same time. The basic error of a stereotype is that it permits of inadequate variation, leveling all members in the group to a given measure. The stereotypes touched upon here represent some of the ways in which the Negro is, not uncommonly, characterized in the teaching materials. The materials using them present a distorted picture and offer an inadequate conception of Negro people.

Pictorial representations of the Negro in the materials examined show him for the most part in plantation scenes or engaged in activities directly related to the plantation. These include pictures such as those of Negroes at a cotton gin or with bales of cotton "At the Dock." By far the largest number show Negroes picking cotton in the fields. There are a few cartoons of Negroes in the company of carpetbaggers, either receiving instructions on how to vote or as fellow-members of a disorderly and somewhat violent legislative meeting. One history text shows a Negro at an underground railroad station and in another a group is seen standing in line to receive government aid after emancipation. A Negro is also shown astride a horse hitched to a covered wagon going west, and several groups are shown outside slave cabins singing and dancing to the music of banjos.

The number of illustrations of Negro life since Reconstruction is negligible. Among such pictorial representations, however, were reproductions of a statue of Booker T. Washington, of the United States postage stamp carrying his picture, of a scene showing a group of Negroes plowing with modern machinery, and of Negro youths in a trades class. Negro porters appeared in several scenes. Pictures of Negroes today at work in a modern city, at home, in school, or engaged in any of the normal activities of free human beings are for the most part conspicuously absent. A picture of Negro fliers is a distinguished exception. No scarcity exists of excellent prints, photographs, and drawings on the contemporary Negro-American to warrant this limited pictorial representation.

Many of the textbooks examined include no specific reading references for further study of the Negro; a limited number give

several references and two include more than a dozen. More important than the number of references is their quality. Recency of publication, accuracy, coverage, and representativeness of the books suggested are factors needing consideration. Quantitatively, slightly more than half of the texts in American history examined contain one or more references. Three of the texts list approximately two-thirds of all the references given.

Most of the best and most recent studies of Negro life are not listed at all, even when they are well within the range of reading ability of secondary school students. Fiction dealing with Negro life is usually out-of-date and either highly romantic or full of stereotypes; recent fiction pertaining to the Negro is seldom listed. While there may be reasonable doubt about the desirability of immature students reading some of the recent novels, not all of the novels are questionable or require exclusion. Much of the historical fiction included presents descriptions of the Negro and attitudes toward him which are either nonexistent today or actually harmful. Treated historically, as examples of changing conceptions of race relations, they have value; but as unguided extra reading they are likely to distort the attitudes of young people.

The most popular book among the references on the Negro is *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Second only to Mrs. Stowe's book is Booker T. Washington's autobiography, *Up from Slavery*. Du Bois' *Black Reconstruction*, on the other hand, is listed by only one text.

Some of the bibliographies include introductory statements and are annotated. In one introduction to a bibliography of historical fiction the student is warned to "read with caution some of the fiction here listed, because of racial prejudice and war and reconstruction bitterness held by some of the authors." Some of the bibliographies reveal the racial identity of Negro authors. The student who is denied adequate treatment of the Negro in the textbooks in wide use should be compensated by carefully chosen bibliographies of readable and reliable books on the subject.

In summary, it is pointed out that the popular teaching materials examined say little about the operation of the franchise in relation to the Negro or the extent to which civil liberties function for him.

Segregation is unrecognized in many of the materials, even when it is highly relevant; this omission may be regarded as an inadequate reflection of the realities of the American scene. There are, on the other hand, teaching materials which approach segregation in its appropriate context.

Several kinds of Negro stereotypes are found in the materials; the Negro is infrequently seen in any other than a stereotyped role. The efforts of slaves to free themselves through various means are generally ignored in order to present the contented slave stereotype. Materials in literary anthologies and pictorial representations are so selected that they reflect largely the life of the contented slave.

Very little material on the Negro after slavery and Reconstruction days is found. Nothing appears in most of the texts about the Negroes who came to America before 1619 as settlers, slaves, or freemen. Little is said of the free Negro during the period of slavery, and there is nothing to indicate the extent of his numbers, status, or influence upon customs, laws, thought, and institutions. One account includes a statement to the effect that Europeans learned something from the Indians and the Negroes; such statements, in order to carry weight, need amplification. Material on the Negro since Reconstruction is meagre and usually limited to "contributions," placed in a special topic and treated briefly. Frequently he is dealt with only as the "Negro problem."

Pictorial representations of the Negro have the same limitations as the written text. They draw largely on the Negro's life as a slave and follow generally the stereotyped pattern previously described. The reading references also tend to emphasize the life of the Negro as a slave.

The more recent the text the greater the likelihood that a full, varied, and balanced treatment of the Negro will be found. Indexed items referring to the Negro are growing in number and include such timely subjects as the Negro and labor unions, the Negro and colleges, the Negro in northern cities, and the like. While in no way affording proof that the Negro is now being given either fair or adequate treatment in texts, this does indicate a quickening sensitivity toward our largest minority group and presages more ample treatment of him in the future as an integral part of our national community.

Americans from Asia

Among the American population are various minority groups of Asiatics, ordinarily distinguished by physical characteristics. These relatively small groups have been to a considerable extent controversial elements in American history, partly because of their relation to our diplomatic policies toward their lands of origin.

Chinese-Americans

Our attitude toward Chinese residents in the United States has been shaped largely by external events. The labor shortage they at first relieved tended to make them welcome. When they were no longer needed to build transcontinental railways, and became the unwanted competitors of native laborers, evil and unpleasant characteristics were fastened on them in the public mind. Chinatown is usually thought of as a ghetto, inhabited by unassimilable people, characterized by poverty and all the objectionable features of slums. The stereotype of the Chinese laundryman is entrenched in the popular mind. While anti-Chinese riots no longer blot the pages of our history, and the partnership of the recent war has improved the status of Chinese-Americans, the dominant attitude toward Chinese-Americans is still not one of full acceptance.

American history texts deal only briefly with the Chinese. Some mention is made of Chinese students, but the reader is usually only told that Chinese came and worked on the construction of railroads and that shortly thereafter people felt they should not be allowed to come and so they were excluded. Agitation against the Chinese in California, largely sponsored by American labor groups feeling Chinese competition, is usually mentioned. The fact that the Chinese worked for a low wage, usually called a "starvation" wage, and lived in a manner which Americans think intolerable is never omitted. To clinch the argument that the Chinese-Americans are undesirable, immorality in connection with the operation of vice "dens" is ascribed to them. A congressional investigating committee was sent to California to study this problem at first hand. One author observes that "under such circumstances it is not surprising that white mobs should have tried to drive the Chinese out by force."

There is little in most texts to correct the distorted view of the

Chinese which such accounts give. The closely knit, wholesome family life of many of the Chinese is not mentioned. Prison records in California from 1870 to 1900 show the Chinese to be "the most law-abiding of all foreign groups"; but this is not mentioned. Where bad living conditions prevailed, no attempt is made to explain the reasons behind them. The idea is constantly reiterated that the Chinese supplied a continuous flow of cheap labor which "prevented a rise in the standard of living." The myth of voluntarism is applied to the Chinese.

The texts point out that the Chinese preferred to live by themselves, and that such thrift as they could practice was directed toward accumulating funds with which to return to China. Such an intention was assumed to betoken disloyalty toward the United States and a wish to exploit this country for their own advantage. Most of these generalizations can be shown to be *post hoc* rationalizations, made in a period when jobs became scarce and times hard. Pointing up all other arguments is that holding that the Chinese are a biologically unassimilable people. Prejudices against slant eyes and a yellow skin are repeated, without explanation of the nature of prejudice or any attempt to justify it. The assumption stands unquestioned that peoples of certain races simply cannot mix. The thinly veiled sentiment prevails, "We have one race problem already; let's not have another."

In sociology and modern-problems texts, where it might be expected that more interpretative material about the Chinese would be found, little appears that is helpful. One text does note that there are some skillful Chinese-American doctors and surgeons, and some competent teachers and office workers. Nowhere is material included which would help the student understand the Chinese as persons; their centuries-old culture is neglected. World history texts provide some of the cardinal facts of Chinese history, but do not often contain cultural analyses based on sociology and anthropology.

The approach to human personality through literature is scantily used in dealing with the Chinese people. Pearl Buck's story "The Frill" is included in one anthology. Its scene is laid in China, rather than in the United States, and it is far more a study of a selfish and stupid white woman who exploits a poverty-stricken Chinese tailor than a study of Chinese character. The poem "Plain Language

from Truthful James," while it contains the lines, "the heathen Chinese is peculiar" and refers to the "devious" and "dark" ways of these people, is both satire directed against the whites and a tribute to the Chinese who proves to be a superior cardsharp. The approach in both these selections is too limited and personal to afford any real insight into the Chinese people as a whole.

An anthology of world literature prepared for high school use contains twenty selections, largely poetry, translated from the Chinese. They range from the philosophy of Confucius to bits of lyric poetry. None is contemporary or adds appreciably to the student's understanding of modern China or the Chinese in America. Another anthology contains the admirable selection "The Chinese Way of Life" from *Letters from a Chinese Official* by G. Lowes Dickinson. The purpose of this passage, according to its introduction is to dissipate the notion that everything strange is necessarily barbaric. The introduction remarks that an explanation of the Chinese ethos creates a picture of a nation so civilized that "our own Western ways seem by contrast to be garish, noisy and soulless." While such an account may share the overenthusiasm of Lafcadio Hearn in his writings about Japan, it is a good corrective for the erroneous picture of omnipresent poverty and squalor offered as the whole truth about China in most materials for school use.

None of the accounts presents a picture of the normal life of the Chinese-Americans at work, in school, or engaged in ordinary daily activities. To eliminate this gap, informative and interesting selections should be made from creative literature and from the studies of social scientists. The culture of present-day China should be more closely related to Chinese history, and both of these to the conditioning of Chinese-Americans by the folkways of the United States. Sociological case histories of Chinese-American youths who have enjoyed with reasonable fullness the opportunities of participation in American life would be illuminating. Stories of Chinese-Americans in the armed forces would be of interest. While it is, of course, not desirable to present a picture of 100 percent assimilation, it is necessary to show that most Chinese-Americans are loyal citizens, able workers, and contributors to our rich and varied culture. It is essential that school materials avoid all statements

which tend to confirm the persistent stereotypes of Chinese-Americans as persons with a "coolie mentality." Less emphasis should be placed upon the picturesque in the lives and habits of Chinese-Americans. Descriptions of "Chinatown" in any large American city read too frequently like tourist advertisements or like invitations to go slumming.

Filipino-Americans

Although the Filipinos in the United States constitute one of our smallest minority groups, their position and textbook treatment is significant because of the unique relation of the Philippine Islands to the government of the United States. When set off against our solicitude for the Islands, the fact that Filipinos, with various Oriental groups, have been denied the privilege of naturalization affords a striking studying in contrasts. As with other minority groups, we tend to accept a stereotyped idea of the Filipino-American, thinking of him, for example, as houseboy or domestic servant.

The textbooks surveyed say little about the Filipinos, whether at home or as residents of the United States. The histories contain descriptions of life in the Philippine Islands which usually stress the difficult job of bringing civilization to these various and disunited "primitive" peoples. There are often "before and after" pictures showing the savagery or backwardness of the Islanders prior to the time when the United States took control, and the neatness and orderliness of the people after American influence became widespread. Several of the more detailed discussions consider the progress made, under the guidance of the United States, in government, in education, and in methods of production and distribution.

A grade school reader takes us to the Philippines in a story called "The New and the Old in the Philippines." In the first section the land is seen only through the eyes of American travelers and appears backward and quaint. In the second section it is seen through the eyes of Mr. Ramos, a Filipino schoolteacher, who is showing the sights to his two sons. Through this device the ethnocentrism and slightly patronizing tone of the first section is to some extent corrected. The story furnishes a helpful insight into the living conditions and problems of the Filipino peoples.

Little mention is made of Filipinos as American immigrants. One

discussion states that "an annual quota of 50 immigrants to the United States was allowed" under the Philippine Independence Act of 1934. Nothing is said about how many Filipinos availed themselves of this opportunity or how they fared in the United States. Another text deals with the Filipinos in the United States in this way:

California, too, looked with disfavor upon the immigration of Filipinos, of whom more than thirty thousand were admitted between 1920 and 1930.

A problems text put it this way:

Since 1934, when the Philippine Islands were granted their independence (to become effective in 1945), Filipinos have been regarded as aliens. Only a small number are permitted to enter this country as immigrants each year.

The general import of these accounts is that it was necessary to restrict the number of Filipinos permitted to enter the United States because they were not suited for life here. The student is not told how many Filipinos are in the United States, what their status is, why they came, how they live, or what their problems are. The conditions of social disadvantage and poverty which often characterize their life here are never mentioned. Almost total neglect of the Filipino group in America is one of the striking difficulties of our instructional materials.

Japanese-Americans

Pearl Harbor precipitated into overt expression the intense prejudices held by many native Americans against the Japanese resident in this country. Discriminatory acts were directed quite as much against American-born Japanese, who are citizens, as against those Japanese who were born in Japan and are ineligible for American citizenship. The roots of these prejudices were deep and had been developing for many years. Reports of the unprecedented bitterness of the fighting in World War II, and the fanaticism and atrocities of the Japanese soldiery, poured into this country in an increasing stream, the natural effect of which was constantly to deepen and invigorate this hatred. The end of the war is too recent to allow any sound opinion on the possible abatement of this feeling. How deep and how permanent the effects of the war and our relocation pro-

gram will be cannot now be finally determined. That a residue of ill-will remains on both sides can hardly be doubted.

Inevitably, attitudes toward Japan and the Japanese people condition attitudes toward the Japanese-Americans. Textbook accounts of Japan vary considerably—some histories stress the rapid westernization of Japan; others dwell on an artistic quality assumed to be inherent in the Japanese; others stress the national ambition and military imperialism of modern Japan. American history textbooks take some pride in the role of the United States in opening Japan to the West, and deal unquestioningly with the immigration policy of exclusion of the Japanese. Recent texts refer to the treachery of Pearl Harbor and to Japanese military brutality.

Treatment of the Japanese in America is discussed in many of the texts because the objections of some Californians to their presence in the country created serious difficulties with Japan and hence affected our foreign affairs. The center of attention, that is to say, is not upon Japanese—who they were, why they came, and what they did in America—but upon the repercussions of west coast legislation against them on relations between the United States and Japan. An example illustrating the treatment accorded the Japanese in America is the following:

. . . but when the Immigration Act of 1924 was passed, instead of assigning a quota to Japan, as was done to most other nations, the act excluded all members of the yellow or Mongolian race, including the Japanese as well as the Chinese. The proud Japanese people were incensed by what they regarded as a deliberate insult, and an open break between the two powers was narrowly averted.

A longer discussion in the same vein contains some unfortunate implications:

Early in the twentieth century the multiplication of the number of Japanese along the Pacific coast created a new source of alarm. As a protest against the number of Japanese students in the public schools, the San Francisco school board, in 1906, adopted a resolution requiring all such students to attend separate Oriental schools. . . . To appease California and other Pacific states, however, Roosevelt brought about an informal understanding with Japan known as the "Gentlemen's Agreement" [1907].

Although Japan observed the terms of the Gentlemen's Agreement rigidly, the same could hardly be said of the Pacific states. The presence

of a large number of Japanese led these states to pass laws which seriously threatened friendly relations between America and its neighbor across the Pacific. . . . Japan found it difficult to understand the division of authority between the states and the federal government, and regarded anti-Japanese legislation as an affront to its national dignity. Immigration laws of the third decade of the century further heightened the tension between the United States and Japan.⁵

The repeated phrase, "large numbers," in this passage is open to misinterpretation. What is a "large" number to some, will to others be scarcely noticeable. This is exactly the case with the Japanese on the west coast. So far as the number of Japanese in the San Francisco schools is concerned, in 1906 there were 93 in a total school population of 25,000. One "contemporary observer" stated that "no oral or written protests were ever made against the Japanese pupils by the parents of white pupils." Finally, the entire passage, and it is representative of many, gives the clear impression that all the people of the west coast were "alarmed" about the Japanese. Since nothing is said to the contrary, students are likely to assume that this alarm was well founded.

Little explanatory comment accompanies discussions of Japanese immigration and the tensions of which it was productive. The Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907 is generally looked upon as a step designed to stave off "another racial problem." One text avers that "the whole problem was quietly solved" by this agreement. The fact is sometimes mentioned that we agreed not to resort to exclusion, a promise which we later broke.

In summary, the Japanese in America are usually discussed incidentally in teaching materials, in connection with foreign affairs or with general immigration policy. Little discussion appears of Japanese-Americans as they actually live in the United States. This finding is in accord with that of the recent study *Treatment of Asia in America Textbooks*.⁶ Emphasis in the texts is upon west coast opposition to the Japanese. The impression is usually given that

⁵ First sentence of second paragraph changed in 1948 edition to read as follows: "Despite the Federal Government's attempts to settle the problem amicably, it was aggravated by the actions of the Pacific states."

⁶ Prepared under the direction of the Committee on Asiatic Studies, American Council on Education, and the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations (New York: the Institute, 1946).

this opposition was justified and that all non-Japanese agreed on it, some groups merely objecting more than others. Only one high school literary anthology contains material from Japanese literature. No high school anthology contains anything about the Japanese in America.

Summary and Conclusions

Pupils passing through typical schools of the United States are not presented with basic information about "the races of mankind," if one is to judge by the textbooks and courses of study. On the contrary, in the teaching materials prepared for classes in literature and the social studies, the terms race and racial are used loosely and often unjustifiably. Racial and ethnic factors are frequently confused. There is a marked tendency to present stereotyped concepts based on racial distinctions.

In the treatment of such racial groups as the American Indians, the Negroes, and Americans of Asiatic origin, there is heavy emphasis on historical data. Indians are encountered largely on the frontier, Negroes as slaves, Asiatics in terms of the west coast conflicts of a generation ago. There is relatively little sociological analysis of the groups as they are today, or of the direct problems of race relations in American life. Even where the "cultural contributions" of the groups are emphasized, it is customary to present to pupils a few outstanding individuals rather than the group status and potentiality within the framework of cultural democracy. The materials fail to relate the behavior of members of racial minority groups to the American population structure, and to analyze clearly some of the vital problems affecting race relations.

The deficiency of teaching materials—except in the loose use of terms relating to race—is primarily one of omission. There are few instances of direct prejudicial instruction, but many instances of failure to introduce materials or to explain situations conducive to a deeper understanding of race relations on the part of young citizens of America.

Religious Groups and Group Tensions

RELIGIOUS tensions spring from differences—real or fancied, significant or insignificant. Religious differences are heightened by ethnic, and occasionally by racial, differences between groups. Social and economic factors sometimes intensify them. They are further affected by those conceptions of social theory which define differently the realms of the “public” and the “private” in human affairs. Where tensions are sharp the emphasis is certain to be upon differences. Where the theory of freedom of religion, and harmonious pluralism in its practice, is denied by some, misunderstood by some, and but partially achieved in social practice, tensions are inevitable. That differences in religious belief and practice exist in this country cannot be denied.

In the sections which follow, points of likeness and unlikeness among religions will be examined. Factors which unduly accentuate differences will be noted. The American philosophy of religious freedom will be examined to see whether it can fairly encompass those differences and still permit the achievement of social unity. A consideration of these issues is included to provide necessary background for analysis of the textbook materials relating to religious groups and religious group tensions in America.

Likenesses and Differences among Catholics, Protestants, and Jews

American culture is predominantly Christian in its religious outlook. In our society the term “Christian” has come to denote the best in human life. It is simple for the child to make the distinction between “Christian” or “good” on the one hand and “non-Christian” or “bad” on the other. There is a similar tendency among Christians themselves to associate “rightness” and “goodness” with that portion of the body of Christians to which they are personally attached. Protestants have predominated both in numbers and in influence, and “wrongness” and “badness” have frequently been attributed by

them to Catholics, especially when the latter happened to be newcomers and belonged to ethnic groups culturally distinct from the earlier Protestant settlers. Those whose religion is Judaism have often been similarly judged. Since religion is a part of the culture complex, such prejudiced attitudes are threads in the total fabric of group prejudices.

In addition to nonreligious factors which became identified with religious words and groups, there are very real differences of opinion regarding the meaning and ultimate purpose of human existence. It is not unusual, therefore, to find one group making claims which the others deny, and the first group consequently denouncing the deviators as heretical and false. It is important that religious differences be surmounted: ignoring them is not the best way to achieve mutual respect and cooperation. For this reason it is necessary to get a clear conception of how the common core of the Judaeo-Christian faith is differently interpreted by Jews, Catholics, and Protestants.

The Roman Catholic Church, for example, lays claim to papal infallibility. The Pope, when speaking *ex cathedra*, can pronounce, so the Catholic Church believes, absolute and infallible truth regarding faith and morals. Most Protestant creeds, on the other hand, assert that the Scriptures are the best guide for faith and practice and give no one the exclusive right of interpretation. In both instances categorical claims are made which admit no alteration or compromise. Roman Catholicism in the United States maintains its historic character and its allegiance to the Roman pontiff. It is one church and has no separate denominational groups, although within the church there is discussion of temporal matters from different points of view. There are also differences of opinion among Catholics on secular matters. The organization of the Catholic Church is very much the same in America as it is in other countries of the world.

In the United States there are approximately twenty million Roman Catholics and forty-two million Protestants. The Protestants are divided into some 265 different groups, while the Roman Catholics maintain an organizational unity. Most Protestants belong to a few large denominations; 55 denominations have more than fifty thousand members each. It is from these that Protestantism gets its general characteristics. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ

in America is a coordinating agency through which many activities are carried on cooperatively.

The Jews as a religious group do not accept a central article of faith held by both Catholics and Protestants. For most Jews, Jesus is at best a teacher in the great line of the Hebrew prophets, with no superhuman status as the Son of God or the Second Person of the Trinity and with no spiritual superiority over some of His predecessors. To the Jews, therefore, Catholic and Protestant doctrines are alike incorrect. Whereas Protestants and Catholics claim contradictory doctrines of infallibility, scriptural and papal, they combine in opposing the Jewish position in regard to Jesus as the Christ. This position does not, however, invalidate for Jews the ethical principles which Jesus enunciated in the New Testament. There are, of course, other areas of theological conflict among the three groups. Moreover, since religious groups form the organizing centers for so much of man's activity, it is inevitable that economic and political half-truths and frustrations are, on occasion, mirrored in the religious area.

One of the false generalizations often made in connection with Judaism is the common reference to the Jews as a single religious group. There is not as much diversity within the Jewish structure as in Protestantism, yet there is more than in Roman Catholicism. It is well to keep in mind that there are at least three distinct Jewish religious groups—the Orthodox, the Conservative, and the Reform. There are basic theological and philosophical differences among them, as well as differences in ethical standards. Judaism as a religion has about five million members in America. Of this number about three million are communicants in the strict meaning of that term. The largest percentage of these is found in the Orthodox group. As in other religious groups, many members are only nominal members and attend services either infrequently or not at all.

Despite the differences which unquestionably exist, there is a great common denominator of tradition, ideals, morality, and theology in the three great faiths. Certainly, in the light of the Judaeo-Christian tradition, there is no inevitable basis in religion for inter-group conflict. Whatever the differences in dogma, there is an ultimate point of unity. The three groups accept the fact that a sovereign Creator-God presupposes the brotherhood of man. The Jew,

the Catholic, and the Protestant all recognize this universal aspect of their faiths. What particularities exist should, in organized society, be secondary. Persons of different faiths often find common ground in joint protest against social and economic injustice. The right to make a decent living and to have reasonable comfort in life is given common defense by members of all three groups. All three face common social tasks of great importance. Belief in the unity of all men under one God and in the cooperation of men of different faiths toward solving practical, contemporary problems provides grounds for hope for intergroup harmony on the religious plane. But this hope will never materialize until all educational influences, including schools and their instructional materials, offer the best available information to correct misconceptions and to help develop common understanding.

While recognizing that there are separate areas in religious thinking which are not mutually congenial, it is also well to note that bases for cooperation are far broader than those for antagonism. Calls for agreement and joint action are sounded by leaders in each group. Such an appeal from the Catholic point of view was expressed by Father George B. Ford, who said, ". . . in the future, unlike the past, let the stress be not on the factors that divide but on the common acceptances that unite. There are many of them."¹ Among these he cited the following: belief in the existence of a Supreme Being, the reality of prayer, public worship, and dependence upon the Ten Commandments as the "foundation and measurement of individual moral action."

The common tasks of Jews and Christians are described by Sholem Asch in *One Destiny—An Epistle to the Christians*, as follows:

The Jewish-Christian idea makes us equal partners in your Christian ideal, just as it makes you equal partners in our Jewish one, in spite of the fact that we belong to separate faiths . . . the real essence of the matter is that our religions have imposed upon us the same duties, and the obligations to perform good deeds and acts of benevolence toward our neighbors.²

¹ Ford, "Religious Diversity within National Unity," in Alain Locke, *et al.*, *Diversity within National Unity: A Symposium* (Washington: National Council for the Social Studies, 1945), p. 14.

² New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1945, p. 83.

A Protestant leader, Willard L. Sperry, who by no means minimizes unduly the differences which exist between those who embrace different faiths, expresses the need for unity when he writes, "Unity should be achieved not by denying these initial differences, but by comprehending them. Without forfeiting the truth of his own native insights, every churchman ought to be willing to concede the possible validity of the position of the party of the other part."³

Religion in American Social Philosophy

Throughout American history belief in the worth and dignity of the individual and belief in religious freedom have reinforced each other. Religion has not been held to be synonymous with worship. It has been regarded as essentially a private matter, beyond the public controls exercised by the state. From very early days peoples of many faiths sought religious refuge on our shores. It is true that they did not find complete religious freedom from the start, but the idea was there—an idea which in time took form both in legislation and the mores of the people. Roger Williams, Lord Baltimore, William Penn, Thomas Jefferson, Hannah Adams, and many others contributed to the development of this ideal. Some of the colonial laws did not extend religious toleration to Jews, Unitarians, Quakers, and other groups; but the basic principle was later expanded from toleration to freedom and extended to encompass all religious groups. The Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom, passed in 1786, and the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States completed the structure of the house of religious freedom. It had yet to be appropriately furnished. This task has not yet been completed.

There have been, during the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, acts of intolerance which violate the teachings of all three major religious groups in America as well as the law of the land. The attacks made upon Catholics by the Know-Nothing Party and by the Ku Klux Klan are well-known examples. Greater harm has been done, however, in less overt ways through the words and deeds of prejudiced persons. For these prejudices the schools have some degree of responsibility. Where responsibility for prejudice lies else-

³ Sperry, *et al.*, *Religion and Our Divided Denominations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945), p. 24.

where, the school has an equally important duty—that of helping the child to immobilize his prejudice. Learning, unlearning, and relearning are different aspects of this obligation. To make clear the position of the schools in this matter, it is necessary to discuss briefly the historical and contemporary aspects of the relation of the public schools to the knowledge of, belief in, and practice of religion.

A few centuries ago virtually all formal education was carried on by religious groups. The dominant philosophy of education was shaped by the convictions stemming from specific religious experiences. Each church developed its own interpretation of man, the world, and human destiny. Politics, economics, natural science, and philosophy all took on the coloring of religious assumptions. There was little reason for the student to ask questions which attacked the fundamental suppositions of all knowledge. However, little agreement regarding these assumptions existed among the various religious groups. For example, Protestant schools gave students a disparaging view of the Church of Rome; Roman Catholic schools often taught that Protestants were in rebellion against God; and synagogue schools taught the spiritual superiority of Judaism. In many ways education was merely the handmaiden of specific religious formulations. It had little identity of its own.

Gradually religion began to lose its hold on the educational process. With the development of religious toleration in America there came a softening of denominational lines and an upsurge of a secular reliance on reason. Public education became an autonomous enterprise purporting to have no religious connections. It is against this background that American public education must be viewed.

Citizens of the United States are not and have never been predominantly antireligious. They might, however, be described as anticlerical in the sense that they believe that politics and government should not be directly related to religion. They do not want any religion to dominate our national or international policies, or to establish vested temporal interests which might influence affairs of state. Their leaders have always attempted to sail the ship of state on the middle course between the Charybdis of sectarianism and the Scylla of no religion at all. Many Americans have always believed that religion is much more than a collection of theological dogmas and

creeds; most of them have been convinced that morality is closely linked to religious principles. But freedom of religion must also be construed as freedom to accept none. The American people hold that religion is a matter of individual preference and belief and that anyone is free to adhere to no religion if that is his wish. Freedom involves the right of rejection as well as acceptance. No one in the United States is required to belong to any religious group. Texts, in discussing religious freedom, should make this clear.

In view of the secularization of education, as part of a general secular trend, it is necessary to take stock of religious experience as a whole in its bearing upon youthful learning. Subject matter referring to the past or the contemporary scene, if it aims at completeness, is bound to refer to religion and religious groups. The manner of such treatment is the chief concern of this investigation.

If the majority of Americans wish to preserve freedom of religion, as they do, the public schools must treat religion and religious groups with scrupulous impartiality. No theological doctrine or system should have a preferred place in either teaching materials or the instruction given in public schools. It is, in brief, the function of the public schools to teach about religion and religious groups and not to attempt to teach *religious faith*. Those who are convinced that it is only through religion that moral excellence is achieved must throw their support to the churches as sources of education. Public education should hold as one of its most solemn duties a neutral position among sectarian groups and between religion and no religion. Tax-supported schools have no right to place obstacles in the path of the churches; neither have they the right to take over the functions of churches.

Be defining the function of the schools in this fashion, no hostility to religion is shown. It provides room for the belief that the ethical concepts needed in a democratic society are not derived solely from religious teaching. Science, art, and the humanities are held to be contributing factors in the cultivation of such ethical concepts. The view that the schools should teach *about* religion rather than teach religion follows logically from acceptance of the ideas of human worth and dignity, religious freedom for individuals, and the separation of church and state; these ideas are basic tenets in Ameri-

can democracy. Such a view adheres to the distinction between the realms of the "public" and the "private" which our social philosophy involves.

In the light of these criteria, teaching materials should be biased in favor of neither Catholicism, Protestantism, nor Judaism; they should, for that matter, be neither for nor against religion in general. It will be found, of course, that textbook writers do make value-judgments which are neither explicit nor implied; complete objectivity is virtually impossible to achieve. To point out extremes of subjectivity, rather than slight deviations from an impossible absolute norm, is the goal sought in this analysis.

Religious Groups in History

Not one of the texts concerning themselves with the American scene fails to lay emphasis on the "freedom of worship" article in the American faith. Usually the treatment is excellent and fair to all parties. All save a few texts mention the rights of nonbelievers. One history text deals with this question by saying:

Freedom of religion means the right to worship a Christian faith, a non-Christian faith, or not to worship at all.

History textbooks, as a rule, handle the problem of religious freedom in excellent fashion. The failure of most of the early colonizing groups to permit others to enjoy the freedom for which they themselves migrated to America is pointed out. The fact that several states wrote into their constitutions provisions which kept Jews, Catholics, Unitarians, or "free thinkers" from voting and holding office is noted. The pioneer work of men such as Roger Williams, William Penn, and Thomas Jefferson in paving the way for Amendment I of the Constitution is praised.

The point is frequently made that democracy and republicanism demand religious freedom if they are to function on their highest level. Denial of religious freedom introduces a serious inconsistency into our democratic ideal. One passage makes this point clear:

As the evangelical churches grew rapidly and became powerful, they turned multitudes of the people against the Deism or Unitarianism of such original republicans as Thomas Paine, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson.

The particular animus felt against Catholics, Jews, Quakers, and many minor religious groups is frequently stressed. Less often is mention made of efforts to lessen misunderstanding and intolerance. One notable exception occurs in an American history text which describes the efforts of Hannah Adams to disseminate information about the Jewish people and their religion and to win tolerance for them. The author ends the discussion in these words:

Thus by spreading knowledge she sought to take some of the tartness out of religious wrangling.

Freedom of worship is, then, generally well handled by the school materials examined. This cardinal principle of our liberties is emphatically stated in our widely used texts.

Our next concern is with the direct treatment of the content and function of religion. Most texts do not attempt to explain the phenomenon of religion, but discuss its character and functions in their various social manifestations. This is particularly true of history texts. Religious history as such is not ordinarily considered, any more than are the individual histories of science and art. Since, however, religious institutions and motivations have played so dominant a role in shaping the character of Western culture, the texts devote considerable space to this general area. The social manifestations of religion in the behavior of persons of different faiths are the most suitable material for young students. These are more concrete than inquiries into the nature and functions of religion and, therefore, more comprehensible to students. Many misunderstandings arise in connection with religious behavior and for this reason the topic deserves particular attention.

The writer of history textbooks must be selective, brief, and interesting. His choice of data is sometimes guided by unconscious religious biases and interpretations. The need for brevity makes it impossible for him, even if he wishes, so to qualify his generalizations that they are always perfectly fair to all concerned. Since he must be interesting, he must select much of his material with an eye to its arresting and striking aspects. And black-and-white conflict situations catch the student's interest more readily than qualified and understanding accounts of harmony and cooperation. Recognizing all this, it still seems clear that some of our most difficult contempo-

rary intergroup conflicts result from poor historical writing. It is only by more careful scholarship and conscious acceptance of responsibility that the difficulties can be overcome.

One world history text describes the beginning of Christianity in the following fashion:

Jesus was born in a stable at Bethlehem, in Judea, but he grew up and spent most of his life at Nazareth, in Galilee; so he was usually called Jesus of Nazareth. At thirty years of age he began teaching and preaching, traveling from place to place in Galilee, Judea, and adjacent regions. After about three years he was arrested, charged with violating the Jewish religion. He was then denounced to Pilate, the Roman governor, as trying to make himself king of the Jews; in defiance of Rome. On the urgent entreaty of the Jews, Pilate condemned Jesus to death. He was crucified, with two thieves, on a hill overlooking Jerusalem, on Friday in the week of the Jewish feast of the Passover, about the year 29 A.D.

Jesus gave new meaning to old precepts and practices. He emphasized such things as justice, love, and duty. He searched men's hearts, going behind their acts to their wishes and their wills. He insisted that, next to the duty of loving and serving God, man's supreme duty is to love his fellow men as he loves himself. In the Golden Rule ("do unto others as you would have them do unto you") and in the brief prayer beginning "Our Father" he summed up his teaching on the relation of man to man and of man to God.

Then begins a laudatory account of Jesus and the early church. The emphasis is constantly upon the "justice, love, and mercy" of Christian teaching. It would not take a very bright student to see that, according to this account, the Jews, who wanted a "political messiah to establish their supremacy over Rome," were wholly responsible for the death of an individual considered by most Christians to be the Son of God. This text, as well as others, does not mention the fact that Jesus was a Jew and that he used the Old Testament as the basis of his teaching. There is also no mention of the numerous "false" messiahs that had been springing up to cause political unrest during the preceding hundred-year period. Neither is there mention of the large number of differing Jewish political and religious parties which were not in agreement with the Sanhedrin.

It is very difficult to determine to what extent modern anti-Semitism is related to the crucifixion of Jesus. It is even more difficult to determine to what extent the accounts of the crucifixion in

textbooks contribute to prejudicial attitudes toward Jewish people today. Since, however, the belief is held by persons who have studied the issue that inaccurate and biased accounts are a factor in causing or perpetuating anti-Semitism, it is sound education policy to make sure that accounts of the crucifixion are scrupulously fair.

When textbooks state or imply that all Jews wished to have Jesus put to death, that all Jews strove to accomplish that purpose, and that the killing of Jesus was actually committed by Jews, there is clearly need for the exercise of greater care in both scholarship and writing. Some text accounts do one or all of these things. The recurrent use in a number of texts of the inclusive term "the Jews" without qualification would seem almost inexcusable. Such expressions as "But he [Pilate] wanted to please the Jews; so he told them to go ahead and put Christ to death if they wanted to. So they crucified him" are without warrant. The placing of blame upon an entire people, and the use of language which by its connotation attaches a stigma to a people for centuries to come, is inappropriate in a factual historical account.

Virtually all texts which deal at all extensively with the origins of Christianity suggest that Judaism was merely a preparatory religion. One author puts it in this way: "And we should further remember that, crowning all this history, there came forth from them in due time the founder of the Christian religion." It must seem strange to a Jewish student to find that the crown of his religion is to be found 2,000 years in the past, and that his faith has produced nothing since, and that it cannot produce anything in the future worthy of note. Numerous other indications of the same Christian bias appear. One text goes so far as to make the erroneous statement that the doctrine concerning the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man was first enunciated by Jesus:

Christianity is an outgrowth of Judaism, and Christ based his teaching upon the Jewish law and the prophets. But he introduced a new doctrine which is the core of Christianity. This is the belief in the universal fatherhood of God and the universal brotherhood of man. From this comes the obligation both to love God and to love one's neighbor as one's self. Along with this doctrine came the promise of the resurrection of the dead and a life of everlasting happiness for believers.

The same text goes on at a later page to say, "It [the Old Testa-

ment] is the most precious inheritance we have from the Ancient Near East before the coming of Christ."

If these were scattered instances, the problem would not be so serious. But the above quotations indicate the usual way in which text authors treat the rise of Christianity. The dangers in such inaccuracies and careless generalizations are obvious. Seldom is the fact noted that nearly all Christians down to a very late date in the first century were Jews. When Paul is dealt with at all, he is made a world citizen and his intimate connection with the religion of his people is glossed over. The crucifixion is discussed without mention of the fact that it was the usual, not an unusual, form of state execution. For the most part, these examples reflect bad scholarship, the use of conflict situations for the sake of interest, and Christian bias. It is not in the interest of harmonious religious pluralism to include such treatment in texts used in American public schools. Public school textbook writers should not decide whether Christianity is "better" than Judaism.

It should be pointed out again that the bulk of the Jewish community rejected Jesus as the Messiah, but not as a teacher; most texts fail to make this distinction clear. In the usual text, the story begins with the rejection of Jesus and ends with a paragraph similar to the following:

Christ taught his disciples many high-minded doctrines. He called love, forgiveness, and mercy his only weapons. He urged his followers to have patience with the wrongs of the world and the evil ways of men. He blessed his enemies. He did not give blow for blow. He endured insults, mental and physical. His whole philosophy of thought and action was love.

There is not one teaching mentioned here that the Jews were not perfectly willing to accept. All of these "high-minded doctrines" can be found in both the Old Testament and the Midrash. Omitting to make the distinction between Messiah and teacher not only causes confusion but provides ground for uninformed prejudice.

In view of the attitude expressed by such phrases as "Christianity, the higher development of Hebrew religion," it is not unusual to find the treatment of pre-Christian Judaism sympathetic and commendatory. Most texts follow the general lines that monotheism is a "good thing" and that it was most cogently expressed in early

Jewish literature. The prophets receive their share of praise as leaders in social idealism and religious conviction.

After reaching the date 70 A.D., the world history texts seem to forget that the Jews as a religious group continued in existence. Possibly there is some justification for this position. The texts are attempting to tell a story of infinite complexity and variety. They do not purport to deal with the totality of Western cultural experience, and they are not writing a history of religious groups as such. Yet it would be well to devote more space to Jewish history and to point out the the Hebrews made contributions to philosophy, religious art, and scholarship as well as to trade and banking. This would tend to make later treatments of American social and religious problems more understandable. If reference is made to persecution of the early Christians by Jews, it might be well to mention also some Jewish persecutions by Christians; but overemphasis on persecution should be carefully avoided. Where the ghettos are mentioned, there is little or no explanation of their causes, deeply rooted in the intolerance of those outwardly committed to the "simple carpenter and his magnificent gospel of love."

Unconscious prejudices are often found in the too-simple generalizations drawn by writers of history textbooks. In most instances the authors do not appear to be consciously biased. Explanation of the social conditions prevailing in the late Roman Empire, the collapse of the Empire, the invasion of the barbarian tribes from the north, the total absence at the time of any conception of general education, should serve to dispel the all too-common stereotype of the function and effect of the Catholic Church during the first thousand years and more of the Christian Era. The church's great role in the transmission of culture deserves mention. The monasteries with their libraries and scholars were the centers of learning for hundreds of years.

Just as prejudice can be engendered through misunderstanding of the part played by Jews in the origins of Christianity, so can uninformed Protestants, Jews, and nonbelievers base prejudiced opinions on false or fragmentary treatment of the Middle Ages. Though authors must be brief and selective, the following treatment is difficult to defend:

... For nearly a thousand years, the story of Europe is the story of

the different barbarian peoples. This is the time we call the Middle Ages. . . .

No wonder the first part of the Middle Ages is called the "Dark Ages." It was like an endless night of terror, because everyone was afraid of his neighbor and no one knew what might happen. . . . During this time of the Dark Ages . . . the people had to begin all over again and once more learn how to be civilized. Little by little, though, the barbarians found out civilized ways.

Competent historians disagree on interpretations of the medieval period; yet there are commonly accepted facts that make such statements as the above seem out of line. The Christian Church was the chief force working for enlightenment and order during the period; it did a far from perfect job, but any objective account would give it credit for what was actually accomplished. Universities were built, rules governing trade and commerce established, and the peasant given a powerful friend in his priest; morality was church-inspired. A more balanced treatment, written by outstanding American historians of the Protestant faith, is the following:

Without the priest, who represented the church and its power for most people, life could not go on. . . . The priest was not an oppressor, but a friend who could be counted upon in all serious occasions of life for help, sympathy, and consolation. Without the church and the priest, life in the thirteenth century would have been far more dreary and far less free for the great majority than it was.

Too many textbooks are content to stereotype the Middle Ages as obscurantist, anti-intellectual, socially backward, and dominated by the Roman Catholic Church. Many give the impression that the church desired the ignorance which prevailed in most classes of medieval society. Here again, this does not appear to be a conscious misrepresentation of facts; rather the difficulty seems to stem from the author's desire to present clear pictures in black and white to remain in the students' memory. Although we do not doubt the pedagogical efficacy of this device, writers should bear constantly in mind the contemporary social situation within which the student lives. It is a time of growing tensions among the various groups in society; such unhistorical generalizations will only add kindling to the fire. It would perhaps be better to lose some of the clear line drawings in order to gain in mutual understanding.

A large number of excellent specialized research monographs have

dealt with the period of the Reformation. The sixteenth century is indeed one of the periods best known to the scholar. Yet some writers of secondary texts continue to place all thinking people on the side of revolt and all ignorant persons and vested interests on the side of Roman Catholicism. Most texts begin discussion of the period with statements such as this:

Before we turn to the religious troubles of late Renaissance days, we must notice how the new spirit—the spirit of investigation—showed itself outside the field of exploration.

Then they proceed to the story of Copernicus and the Inquisition. In such accounts they show how the church in its entirety was obscurantist and against all intellectual curiosity.

. . . The church leaders were so horrified at these notions, which were different from those they taught, that they had the Inquisition (a court for trial of anyone who rejected the doctrines of the church) try him for being a heretic (one who disagrees with the teachings of the church). In the end he was forced to say that he had been altogether wrong about the earth and the sun. If he had not openly taken back his former declaration, he would have been burned alive. Of course, Galileo still believed in the Copernican system, which he continued to teach secretly in spite of imprisonment and fear of death.

It was not just this particular theory that mattered to the scientists and philosophers. They were concerned with the general problem. They stood for the new attitude. People should look for the truth and believe only what they actually find to be true.

This is uncritical history; it implies that Thomas Aquinas and others of the medieval period were blind followers of authority. No mention is made of the amazing intellectual advances made during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; full blown from the head of Jove, according to this account, springs the questioning spirit of modern science and Protestantism. Even a dull student could not fail to catch the implications: Roman Catholicism may have been all right before people could think, but only Protestantism is now intellectually acceptable. But the fact is that some of the great Reformation leaders were more anti-Renaissance than many Roman Catholic leaders.

The historical period in question cannot be reduced to oversimplified statements. It was a complex of economic, political, social, and religious factors more often in conflict than in harmony. It was

an age of growth, violence, and, in some instances, barbarity. The Roman Catholic Church was not the exclusive agency of reaction nor the Protestant churches of progress. Most of the nondogmatic criticisms made by the reformers of the church were corrected at the Council of Trent; yet only a few of the texts under consideration mention more than the mere existence of a Counter Reformation. Fair and accurate presentation of historical facts is necessary. This in no sense suggests the "whitewashing" of any religious group. One text in particular deals with the subject fairly and accurately, both with regard to generalized statements concerning the role of religion in the Middle Ages and the conflict between Protestants and Catholics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. At the conclusion of the treatment, both are accused equally of intolerance:

Judged by the standards of the twentieth century, both the Catholic and the Protestant Church were very intolerant, and in this were usually supported by the government, which was ready to punish or persecute those who refused to conform to the state religion, whatever it might be, or who ventured to speak or write against its doctrine. There was none of that religious freedom, now so general, which permits a person to worship or not, without danger of imprisonment, loss of citizenship, or death.

Some treatments of the period tend to a Catholic rather than a Protestant bias. For most Protestants, the faith expressed by the sixteenth-century reformers was not a mere offshoot of Roman Catholicism. It had an identity of its own and was considered a recapturing of the essential truths found in the New Testament. In this view, the Catholic Church had become apostate in matters of faith as well as practice. It might be well, therefore, when authors attempt to explain the theological differences between Protestants and Catholics, to give some of the reasons for those differences. One text makes only this passing reference to theological differences in an otherwise complete treatment of the Reformation:

Protestants made important changes regarding the sacraments; also they rejected purgatory, invocation of saints, and veneration of relics. They asserted the right of each person to interpret the Bible and to do Christ's will without aid of pope or priest.

Such instances are isolated; for the most part, the Roman Catholic

Church receives less favorable consideration than the Protestant.

After the Protestant Reformation has been examined, little is said with regard to those groups in Europe which were wholly religious in character. Mention is often made of the national churches which the Reformation created, but these are usually considered as by-products of a developing national consciousness. If the state was the handmaiden of religion during the medieval period, then certainly the situation was reversed in succeeding years. The Anglican revolt, for example, is considered purely in terms of Henry VIII's differences with the Pope:

In England, King Henry VIII quarreled with the pope. The result of this quarrel was the establishment in England of a new Protestant church called the Anglican Church. After it became the established church, England broke away, religiously, from its connection with the Roman Catholic Church.

In this particular text, there is no further mention of the Anglican Church or its basic theological differences with the Church of Rome. This is true of most of the texts dealing with European history. In fairness to the Church of England and the American Episcopal communion, it should be pointed out that there were a number of fundamental disagreements on the religious as well as the political plans. It is, of course, quite incorrect to say that the "main cause for the revolt centered in Henry's desire to marry another woman."

Since an understanding of history may contribute to the elimination of prejudice on the part of students, it is recommended that the history texts include more detailed treatment of the Catholic, Protestant, and the Jewish faiths in the post-Reformation period. There is, as we have already observed, no treatment in world history textbooks of the Jewish religion after the Diaspora; Catholicism remains unchanged since the sixteenth century; Protestantism is equally static. There should be, for example, some statement concerning the rise of sectarianism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to furnish the present-day student with a background for understanding the denominationalism of American Protestantism. More attention could be given to the founding, influence, and function of some of the more important orders within the Catholic Church. Such treatments would make American religious development more intelligible.

The history of the discovery and settlement of America necessitates discussion of the relations among religious groups. As in the case of European history, most authors tend to an oversimplified treatment. They note that in the early days of settlement the people were exceedingly religious; the War for Independence caused a decline of interest in religion; then came the great religious revivals in the middle of the nineteenth century; and finally a diminution of religious interest occurred in the late 1900's and the twentieth century. In the main, of course, this scheme is correct. Yet there is a tendency to make it too absolute, and thus to leave the student with the impression that religion is of the past and not of the present and future.

Most American history texts deal adequately with the role of Christianity in the exploration of the New World. A representative text speaks first of the social, economic, and political causes of migration and concludes the section as follows:

The settlements at Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay were also made under the supervision of commercial companies, but their purpose was primarily to provide a refuge from religious persecution.

This kind of treatment gives the student a basis for understanding the existence of numerous religious groups and also an insight into the earnestness with which various religious views were held. Such an introduction is essential if later persecutions and religious outbreaks are to be seen in illuminating perspective. It is well to make clear the fusion of political, economic, and religious elements in our early national history in such a way as to indicate a proper sharing of responsibility among them when later instances of bigotry and intolerance are cited. The following statement regarding Roger Williams appears to fill the necessary conditions. After explaining his insistence upon government by consent and upon fair treatment of the Indians, the text continues:

Williams could have remained in Massachusetts had he been willing to stop criticizing the political and religious systems there. But he could not keep still, and in 1636 he was banished from Massachusetts. He went to Providence. There he and his friends started a new colony, built on the principles which he had talked about so much in Massachusetts.

Although the great majority of texts handle the American colonial situation in a creditable fashion, two major issues continually recur which are treated less satisfactorily. One centers on the question of religious toleration, while the other is found in treatments of the so-called "witchcraft hysteria."

Regarding religious toleration, it should be first pointed out, and most texts fail in this regard, that early toleration was extended to different kinds of Christians only. What few members of the Jewish faith there were did not receive full freedom until later in the country's development. Most texts deal with the subject as follows:

Another colony in which religious toleration prevailed was Maryland. It was established, as we have seen, as a colony chiefly for Catholics; but Lord Baltimore was so liberal that both Catholics and Protestants settled there, and in the Act Concerning Religion, the rights of all believers in Jesus, both Catholics and Protestants, were recognized.

It would require of the authors but little effort to point out the insufficiency of this limited toleration which did not extend to Jews, atheists, and Unitarians. A second difficulty appearing in treatments of this sort is found in such a statement as, "Lord Baltimore was so liberal that both Catholics and Protestants settled there. . . ." In point of fact it was not Lord Baltimore's liberality but the numerical Catholic weakness which led to this policy. The point is made very clear in another text, which contains this sentence:

. . . they [Catholics] numbered less than one-fourth of the population before the province was ten years old. It was in order to protect the Roman Catholic minority from persecution, therefore, that Baltimore got the assembly to pass the Toleration Act (1649). . . .

This same tendency to laud all governors who allowed toleration is found in the sections that deal with the New England religious groups. The following excerpt indicates the better balance found in some of the texts:

Even in New England the Puritans had to admit members of other faiths to their settlements, if grudgingly. They had come to America in search of religious freedom for themselves and they did not throw open their doors to members of other churches who might question their faith. Far from it; they were much like Catholics and Anglicans in that respect. Every person in Massachusetts, in the early days of settlement, was supposed to belong to a Congregational Church in one

of the towns. Moreover only church members could vote in town meetings and everybody had to pay taxes to help support the lawful religion. Thus in early Massachusetts the church and state of the Puritans were united.

But as time passed people belonging to other sects migrated to that colony and demanded a voice in the government as well as toleration in religion.

It is difficult at this late date to assess accurately the real nature of the madness which existed in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692. Yet it can be fairly stated that there were many elements other than the Christian religion involved. The main weight of the superstitious witch-hunting which went on in Europe during the Middle Ages cannot be laid to the Roman Catholic Church, any more than its American counterpart in the seventeenth century can be blamed on Protestantism. If the witch persecutions are going to be mentioned at all, they should receive very careful treatment. The following is typical of the emphasis and briefness of treatment in the American history texts. The account contains a description of how toleration spread and, of itself, encouraged immigration. A remarkable multiplication of nationalities and faiths was the result:

Yet progress toward enlightenment, tolerance, and religious freedom was slow, and occasionally there was a reaction. In 1692, nineteen persons were hanged in Salem, Massachusetts, for witchcraft. Most of these unfortunate people were women who were suspected of being witches in alliance with Satan. They were not given a fair trial but were convicted on insufficient evidence given by children and excited women.

It would, perhaps, be better to follow some such scheme as does this excerpt from an anthology:

We have no reason to hold Salem up to obloquy. It was a town, like any other and a strange madness took hold of it. But it is no stranger thing to hang a man for witchcraft than to hang him for the shape of his nose or the color of his skin. We are not superstitious, no. Well, let us be a little sure we are not. For persecution follows superstition and intolerance as fire follows the fuse. And once we light that fire we cannot foresee where it will end or what it will consume—any more than they could in Salem two hundred and forty-five years ago.

Such treatment as above could be given without destroying historical

accuracy, and it would tend to place present intolerance in proper perspective.

By and large, early mission enterprises in America are carefully treated and sympathetically portrayed. There is little weighting on the side of any one religious group or of religion in general. This is a typical statement found in an elementary history text:

Priests also made the long, hard trip [to America]. They were eager to make Christians of the Indians. Their work was very hard. . . . For months or even for years they might never see another white man. . . . They were made to suffer terribly. Some were burned at the stake. The fingernails of others were torn out and their ribs broken. But still missionaries continued to come. . . . It was not possible to build missions, as was done in Spanish America. . . . The priests had to give more and more of their time to their own people. . . . But they had already done in New France a work for which the world still honors them.

Other texts expand the account and tell of the Indians' asking for missionaries to be sent into the Pacific Northwest. The treatment of both Protestants and Catholics seems fair and reasonable.

It is to the credit of the majority of the texts studied that the American religious revivals of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are well treated. It is necessary to place the "enthusiasms" of these centuries in their proper light and historical setting. There were few diversions for either those crowded into cities or dwellers on lonely farms or clearings. The village was unutterably dull. The people were emotionally starved, and in many sections the camp-meeting revival, with its gatherings of thousands, helped to release natural emotions. We have to take into consideration this starved life and the ease with which any issue appealing to the emotions would spread like fire, in order to understand the decades leading to Civil War.

In an American history text, the social perspective is presented thus:

Because church services were a mode of recreation as well as a form of worship, the people liked dramatic preaching. There was nothing like a rousing revival to stir up the excitement of everybody, from adults to children.

Another aspect of religion in America is treated in connection

with the science-religion controversy. The story often begins with an account of the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859. The impact of science upon religious thinking is depicted as violent. It is questionable whether a secondary school history text can do more than call attention to the struggle between the proponents of science and those of religion. "Problems" texts can more appropriately deal at greater length with this question, but at present they seldom touch upon it. It might be well to call attention to the current rapprochement of science and religion, and the promise of a new harmony in knowledge not unlike that which existed in the Middle Ages.

The tenor of many of the discussions is antitheological. In most instances, there is no clear differentiation among religious groups in their reactions to the evolution controversy. In general, all religious organizations are placed in an antiscientific light. History texts should make clear the circumstances of the battle over evolution. The theories of evolution and natural selection were in accord with the major trends of thought in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Unless the intellectual climate of the period is made clear to the student, the struggle is made to appear a very unequal one between the knights of intellectual freedom on the one hand and religious bigots on the other. The story of religious development at all periods should be part of a complete and balanced picture of the intellectual life of the times.

Most of the texts which deal with the conflict between science and religion at all adequately follow a treatment which includes the following topics: definition of the position taken by so-called fundamentalist groups; the pressure they exerted to prohibit the teaching of evolution in the schools through state statutes; and the Scopes trial in Tennessee, in which the issue was school instruction respecting evolution. One account concludes as follows:

The jury at Dayton found Scopes guilty, and he was fined \$100. Then the case went to the State Supreme Court. In 1927 it upheld the anti-evolution law, but it also let Scopes off with no penalty. So the Scopes case ended, but not the dispute between fundamentalists and modernists. Probably that will never end, for religious convictions are not easily cast off.

The author does not distinguish in terms of number or group be-

tween those who favored a literal interpretation of the Bible and those who did not. It might be well to expand the treatment and to consider both Catholic and Jewish reactions to the Scopes trial and the general controversy. One may also wonder, on the basis of the above statement, whether scientific convictions are any more easily cast off than religious convictions.

Religion Today

As a rule, the texts made their final statements about religion and religious groups following a discussion of the relation between science and religion. For the most part, the accounts indicate that the churches suddenly found themselves losing ground through the doctrinal battles and that efforts were being made to restore their prestige by the introduction of new and varied recreational and cultural activities as part of the church program. The accounts tend to portray churches as being interested in "social salvation rather than individual redemption." The changing position of the church is usually described as in the following excerpt:

The same forces which tend to weaken the home have also tended to lessen the influence of the church. The church finds it difficult to compete with the many agencies clamoring for the leisure of the city dweller on Sunday mornings or week-day evenings. Many complain that the church and the home have surrendered their function of developing the moral character of citizens to the school. What was formerly a function of the individual and private agencies has become to a very great extent the function of the state. It is easy to see in this shift of burden from individual to state remarkable potentialities for good and evil.

In addition to emphasis on materialistic concerns and general indifference to religion, another text emphasizes the divisive effect of the modernist-fundamentalist issue. It says that many people, disgusted with both factions, have turned to nonreligious sources for inspiration. Other texts indicate that some churches have sought to meet new conditions in new ways. The program for young people has been revived and programs of social action sponsored by Protestants, Catholics, and Jews alike. Some attention is paid to the work of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, with its emphasis upon a cooperative approach to social and moral problems.

The rural church is usually inadequately treated. Many evangelical sects with sizable rural followings are not mentioned. Significant institutional developments as they pertain to the rural church pass unnoticed. Although it is undoubtedly true that the largest number of rural churches in America are Protestant, there are also Catholic and Jewish rural ministries. In some texts, there appears to be a tacit assumption that all farmers are Protestant. The following account, for example, fails to tell the whole story:

The prestige and leadership of the rural Church has not fared so well in recent years. In most sections, rural Church membership is declining slowly, or at best only holding its own. The reasons for this crisis in the power of the Churches in rural communities are not hard to find. Foremost, perhaps, is the expansion of easy transportation and communication facilities. It is a mistake to suppose that improved roads will necessarily strengthen the position of the rural Church. As someone has well said, "Good roads lead up to the church door all right, but they keep right on going." The movies, the radio, and other forms of commercial recreation create sharp competition for the church as a community center. Freer access to the schools, public lectures and forums, and the libraries, opens up new lines of thinking and sources of information.

This author also concerns himself with the special problem of denominationalism as it affects the rural church, and ends on a constructive note.

There is a tendency on the part of American history text writers to emphasize strongly the antitheological trend in American Christianity. This development is primarily associated with Protestantism and only secondarily with Roman Catholicism. Liberal Protestants and liberal Jews are closer together on this point than are the other major Western branches of Christianity. Both emphasize the moral and ethical teachings of the prophets and of Jesus; Jesus the teacher takes precedence over Christ the Messiah. At this point, liberal Jews and liberal Protestants are radically distinguished from orthodox Protestants and Catholics. Not one of the text writers succeeds in making this situation clear.

Virtually all of the texts dealing with contemporary civic, social, and political problems maintain that religion and the churches are "good things." Some, as the following excerpts illustrate, make direct statements regarding the necessity of religion in a democracy:

The Democratic Dream . . . has drawn from religion its belief in the brotherhood of man and the worth of each individual. Although we have not yet succeeded in approaching perfection in the application of this ideal, we are making steady progress as can be noted by the gradual increase in our respect for other races and the increasing concern we are showing for the welfare of all underprivileged groups. A few examples of this latter are the provisions which have been made for assisting dependent and physically handicapped children, the blind, the widows, the unemployed, and the aged. This is a definite indication of growing acceptance in government of the religious ideal that each is the responsibility of all.

A second problems text presents the value of religion to democracy in these explicit terms:

We Americans believe thoroughly in the separation of church and state. We demand that every individual shall have the right to worship as he pleases with full freedom for all religious denominations. But it is necessary that the American people should have a common religious life without fixing upon any particular religious creed. It is necessary that we have such common religious ideals as will make possible self-restraint, and thereby insure justice and mercy to all.

De Tocqueville said that religion was more necessary in a democracy than in an absolute monarchy, for the ties of morality must be strengthened in the same degree that authority from above is relaxed.

These are personal value-judgments; however, the democracy described in Aristotle's *Politics*, and in many other political theorists' writings, does not presuppose that it is necessary to have common religious ideals. Regard for the rights of others, respect for individual differences, and the sanctity of personality may spring from religious experience and consciousness but do not necessarily do so. There are types of religion that produce democratic thinking, just as there are types that produce aristocratic and totalitarian ideas. One would not call Aquinas, Luther, or Calvin democrats in the modern sense of that term; nor would it be possible truthfully to call the organizational structure of Catholicism, Anglicanism, and various other religious groups democratic, any more than we can describe the structure of most modern business corporations as democratic. The statements in many texts are prejudicial to those who claim the right to be nonbelievers. Only if it could be shown conclusively that democracy cannot exist without the support of religion would it be necessary to offer the student a choice between

democracy with religion and some other form of government without it.

However, religious institutions are as much a part of our present-day society as are those of a political or economic nature. They should be considered and assessed by all problems texts in as much detail as space will allow. Questions dealing with the function of religious institutions in modern society can be presented in a number of ways. Some texts point out the stabilizing function performed by the churches:

Our Churches generally adapt their teaching to changing conditions very slowly. As a result, much criticism is leveled at them for their apparent conservatism. But such criticism is not entirely valid. There is something to be said in defense of "making haste slowly" when we change old standards for new.

Others show the force of religion in both public and private matters, as does the following excerpt:

The original object aimed at in American education had been to make good Christians. . . . America has continued to be, among the great mass of the people, a distinctly religious country . . . religion is still one of the major forces to be reckoned with in American life and culture. This is true of political life as well as of the inner life of individuals, and many important movements can be traced to the separate or combined influences of the almost innumerable sects and churches. Many intellectuals make the mistake of disregarding this important factor in contemporary life.

Other texts, while emphasizing the beneficial effects of religion, offer accounts which portray both the diverse and unifying aspects of religious belief. An example of this treatment is the following:

In spite of the fact that the fanaticism of many religious leaders and groups has caused numerous bitter disputes and bloody conflicts, religion has been a powerful factor in the development of civilization. It has exerted a wholesome moral influence; it has emphasized the spiritual values of life.

One problems text states the unifying side of the case admirably:

The enduring religions of the world have much in common. Each teaches that God is the Father of mankind and that men should live as brothers. Each of them is universal, seeking to unite all the peoples of the world. Each exalts justice, truth, peace, and love, and teaches that the highest values of life are spiritual. The essential teachings

of the great religions are similar; and community churches where people of every race and creed can worship together now exist in various parts of the world.

Modern Judaism

There are many instances in which the opportunity to promote intergroup understanding is not seized by the texts. The general neglect of modern Judaism is a striking example. Less than 12 per cent of the texts under consideration even mention the existence of the modern Jews as a religious group. Discussion regarding the development of Judaism in America is conspicuously absent. About the time that both Catholics and Protestants were organizing councils for social betterment, the Jews were developing Social Justice Commissions under each of the three major Jewish denominations—Orthodox, Reform, and Conservative. But in the textbooks, Judaism is assumed to have remained static after the first century B.C. It is small wonder that most Christian and other non-Jewish students of our public schools have little knowledge of the Hebrew faith. As has been noted, the brief treatment which is found in the texts tends to be prejudiced and is certainly out-of-date. The inclusion of more information in elementary and secondary history texts with regard to the modern Hebrew religion and customs cannot be too strongly urged.

In the few which do discuss Judaism, there is usually only a fleeting reference to cooperation among Catholics, Protestants, and Jews on some of the basic social questions of the day, or to the fact that these three religious groups draw some of their moral doctrines and idealism from a common source. Even glancing references are not found in all problems texts. One text attempts to indicate some of the differences between Christians and Jews as follows:

A few outstanding differences of religious beliefs and practices may be pointed out. The Bible of Jews, Catholics, and Protestants, as far as the same books are included in it, differs only as translations from the original Hebrew or Greek might differ if not made by the same people. To the Jews the New Testament has no binding authority, and the Talmud supplements the Old Testament as a source of instruction.

If an author mentions differences, it would be helpful to speak also of similarities. It is dangerous to try to do either very briefly. For

example, the Conservative groups supplement the Talmud with additional material, and the Reform groups pay very little attention to the Talmud for actual instructional purposes. The misconception that there is a solid block of Jewish unity in this regard should be avoided.

With increasing frequency, however, accounts appear in the textbooks of cooperation between members of the three major faiths in America. Such accounts are helpful. If an author has space for nothing else, emphasis on cooperation and friendliness is excellent "in-group" psychology. They would be even more valuable if they explained more clearly the common bases for such cooperation.

An outstanding discussion of Judaism appears in an introductory sociology text. From the point of view of intergroup relations, it is in many ways an excellent discussion. Consider, for example, these lines:

The Christian religion originated in the teachings of Jesus, who was himself a Jew. The followers of Jesus hailed him as the Messiah, who had been foretold by Hebrew prophets. Many Jews accept the teachings of Christ, but do not believe he was the Messiah.

This is the only place in all the materials examined where it is stated that some Jews accept the teachings, but not the messiahship, of Jesus. The account from which this excerpt was taken goes on to mention the definite "social code" developed by Judaism, the honor shown parents, and the emphasis upon the family. It states further:

The Mosaic law embodies principles of law which are necessary in every well-organized society. Its ten commandments, if carried out, protect and promote certain fundamental social values that are essential to the progress of society.

In the discussion of monotheism which follows, the prophetic development of the concept is emphasized, Jehovah being represented "by Hebrew prophets as having human compassion and personifying social virtues." The over-all impression of this text on this point is excellent and in keeping with the section heading which reads: *"What is the Social Teaching of the Hebrew and Christian Religions?"*

The next paragraph, however, counters this emphasis on unity with the following:

Christianity took the social teachings of the Hebrew religion and gave them wider interpretation. It broadened the doctrine of the brotherhood of man into something of a world-wide principle, encompassing Gentile and Jew alike. Jesus, the founder of Christianity, stood for the freedom of the individual, and for a co-operative society. He emphasized the importance of the individual personality. Many of the early Christians opposed slavery, fought for the emancipation of women, and promoted child welfare.

Here, whether the author so intended or not, the impression on the Christian student of the superiority of his faith to other faiths, and to Judaism in particular, is deepened. He feels that in comparison to Christianity, Judaism is narrow, provincial, insistent perhaps on the "chosen people" idea. The paragraph suggests that Judaism does not stand as clearly as Christianity for the "freedom of the individual" or for "a cooperative society." It is not accurate to say that Christianity gave a "wider" interpretation to the social teachings of Judaism, nor is it accurate to say that Christianity "broadened" the doctrine of the brotherhood of man. It is too easy, from such an account, to infer that persons of the Jewish faith are not interested in social reforms. Emphasis on the superiority of Christianity to Judaism is, as we have seen, characteristic of all the discussions of the origin and rise of Christianity in the world histories. Democratic intergroup relations would be promoted if texts would discuss the fundamental similarities and the important differences between Christianity and Judaism without making comparative qualitative judgments.

It should be remembered that the above is the only detailed discussion of the three religious groups in the problems texts which were examined. Even this account discusses Judaism primarily in terms of the Old Testament. The student gains no insight into the development of Judaism over the centuries or into the different interpretations of Judaism made by modern Jews who may be neighbors of the student.

Several problems texts mention briefly the relationship of the Judaeo-Christian tradition to the ideals of democracy. No text makes a major point of the peculiarly close relationship of the Jewish religious ideal to American democracy. Hebraic influence was important, through Christianity, in the formation of the basic

ideals of this country in two somewhat different ways. The first and most basic was the general stream of Christian ideology which carries in it the idea of the dignity of the individual as the creation of God. When basic American institutions were made "Christian," they were made, in broad outline, Jewish also. The Jewish prophets, therefore, participated in shaping the "American dream." In the second place, the Puritans placed special emphasis upon the Old Testament. The theocracies of New England were conscious attempts to follow what was conceived to be the Hebraic pattern. Hebrew ideas of law, justice, and duty to God, as interpreted by the New England divines, found their way into American institutions. Puritans called their children by Old Testament names, installed a chair of Hebrew at Harvard, placed a Hebrew inscription on the Liberty Bell, and were no doubt inspired in part by the Hebrew thirst for freedom in their resistance to George III.

The flow of Jewish religious conceptions through Christianity into the thought structure of the people who built and who are building America is an exceedingly important point in introducing the Gentile student to the nature of Judaism. The failure of the texts in any field to discuss it at all adequately is, from the point of view of improved intergroup relations, a glaring omission.

The literature anthologies provide another medium through which public school students are introduced to religion and the relations between religious groups. As has been mentioned elsewhere, the selections chosen for anthologies are usually held up first to a literary standard and secondarily to other standards. This becomes increasingly clear when we discover that in the anthologies there is nearly always a treatment of Christmas, but never of Hanukkah; often a priest is mentioned, seldom a minister of a Protestant persuasion, and never a rabbi. It is perhaps true that most of the excellent pieces of literature in English which deal with religious festivals are written about Christianity. It is probably also true that the priest makes a more dramatic figure for literary purposes than does the Protestant minister, who lives a more usual life within any community. Yet the anthologies nevertheless can be criticized for not affirmatively aiding intergroup relations, and sometimes because they help to lay the foundations for misunderstanding. This is particularly true in connection with Judaism. The few anthologies

which mention the Jews usually do so in a purely secular fashion. The most common of these secular references concerns the attempt of European Jews to become American. Not one word appears in any anthology about the meaning of Jewish holidays and Jewish customs. What about the rules of eating observed by some Jews, for example? How did they originate? Which Jewish religious groups observe them? Why do Jews differ on this?

There is little or no sectarian spirit in the way the anthologies deal with Christianity. When Protestant ministers are mentioned, they may or may not be given a denominational label; usually they are not. If a line count were made, it would be found that priests, nuns, and Catholic organizations generally receive by far the most space. There is small cause for concluding, however, that the anthologies actually promote intergroup conflict among Christians. Both Protestants and Catholic students would have reason to rejoice in a story such as "Father Duffy," by Alexander Woollcott. On the other hand, un-Christian attitudes are expressed in Poe's "The Pit and the Pendulum." Although both of these stories deal with Roman Catholicism, there is an emphasis upon Christian virtue, or the lack of it, and not upon the superiority of one religious group over the other.

Conclusion

Although there are a number of instances where obvious prejudice and bias appear in the texts, tolerance and understanding are generally prevalent. There are few passages in the texts that would, if they were the sole basis of judgment, cause any great unrest or tension. But their slight distortions can provide a basis for a superficial rationalization of prejudiced attitudes gained from other sources. The harm derives largely from the reinforcement of existing prejudices and the failure to immobilize them. The phrase "Christ-killer," for example, is usually, when used by youngsters, an attempt to rationalize a prejudice against Jews gained from another source than the school. It is, therefore, necessary that the texts make clear the position, character, circumstances, and death of Jesus in a way that will not feed ignorant opinions with superficial generalizations.

Unconscious value-judgments derogatory to faith, to nonfaith, or to particular creeds should be scrupulously avoided. Because religion is so powerful an element in arousing group loyalties and in sustaining closely knit group life, it must be treated with a most sensitive pen by all who write for young people in an age where intergroup cooperation is a prerequisite for social stability. The social studies and humanities cannot be taught without references to religion and religious groups, but these references must not accentuate conflicts which are alike denounced by religion, the humanities, and the social sciences.

Part IV

Intergroup Relations in Social Science at the College Level

IN THIS chapter no attempt will be made to analyze the materials used in all courses in the social sciences on the college level. Only those courses will be considered which comprise general or comprehensive surveys of the entire field, or introductions to specialized fields such as sociology, and are offered to first- or second-year college students. Two types of materials are available for examination on this level: first, the syllabuses used in courses in Contemporary Civilization, An Introduction to Social Science, Man and His Social World, or similar courses; and second, the regular textbooks in beginning courses in sociology and social science. The former, products of the general education movement which seek to avoid overspecialization and to give all students a basic general outlook on the contemporary scene, are the more diverse in character. Often, they present unique selections and illustrate a fresh organization of materials. Whatever their approach, it is based upon the belief that a liberal education should furnish a common background for cultural life and should prepare the student for intelligent citizenship. The widely used textbooks analyzed follow a more conventional approach and exhibit, therefore, a higher degree of uniformity. In either case, understanding of intergroup relations and of efforts to better them is not inconsistent with the general aims of the courses.

We shall consider first the syllabuses used in the survey courses. Four main types of approach are observable in the sixteen courses examined. These courses are organized on the basis of (1) historical development, (2) contemporary social problems, (3) the comparative culture approach, and (4) community or regional needs. Although all of these represent an attempt at integration, they range from a disjointed mosaic of topics at one extreme to the fusion of various types of materials around one central theme or idea at the other.

In this chapter the same topics will be discussed which were considered in connection with school materials in preceding chapters.

We shall be concerned with the way in which both syllabuses and texts deal with groups, with society and the individual, with human worth, and with the nature of personality. We shall also be concerned with the treatment of the specific ethnic, racial, and religious groups included in this study. No attempt will be made to evaluate the materials in literary anthologies or in biology textbooks. It is also recognized that within the field of the social sciences, numerous specialized courses are offered in which a high degree of scholarly competence and precise expression would be found. The treatment of races in an anthropology textbook, for example, or of the Negro in a textbook designed for a course in race relations, would be of a somewhat different order from that found in the general surveys examined. The highly specialized courses will not be given consideration in this chapter.

Syllabuses and Outlines for Orientation Courses

To what extent, in this period of social tensions, have survey curriculums kept pace with recent developments in the study of race and cultural contacts in the fields of sociology, anthropology, and social psychology? The materials here examined provide evidence of current survey emphases and of the degree of synthesis they achieve. The surveys were selected for examination because of their representativeness. But a limitation of their usefulness in this connection should be kept in mind: usually, syllabuses are prepared in outline form and are filled in by the instructor in his lectures. The full force of classroom teaching cannot be adequately gauged by examination of the syllabuses alone. The picture obtained is inevitably fractional, since it is impossible to discover how course outlines are amplified, modified, or corrected by class discussion, by what the lecturer has to say, or by what is contained in assigned collateral reading.

Surveys emphasizing historical development

The aim of this type of survey is exemplified in the declared purpose of one first-year syllabus. This is a "manual, especially prepared by staff members of — College and designed to place the great source materials of history in their proper historical setting, each prefaced by its own introduction." As a result, this survey does not

stress our contemporary problems of group tension; but it does present, incidentally, materials related to intergroup relations. A variation within this type of survey is "The —— Conference in American Civilization." Although concerned with "a factual grasp of American history," it selected for its first program of study, "Foreign Influences in American Life," laying stress on the problems of ethnic groups in American society.

Materials in this type of survey do not present or emphasize ideas relating to the value of the individual in a democratic society. Nor is much explicit material included with regard to groups in a democratic society. The implications for personality of group membership, and the extensive variation of individuals within the group, are overlooked. In only one instance, a detailed and systematic analysis is presented of the types of social adjustment which may occur on the part of ethnic groups. Assimilation through absorption, fusion, or imitation is discussed. Assimilation is presented as a process of adjustment which results in the inclusion of the new group into full-fledged membership in community life. The emphasis in the presentation is on process rather than on policy.

Policies for the treatment of ethnic groups are discussed in another context. The effect on native groups of such policies as annihilation, exile, and segregation are considered. The impact of such a policy as exclusion is pointed out in its encouragement of nativism and chauvinism. Another effect mentioned is the development of an elaborate group of rationalizations to justify a policy of exclusion. Such rationalizations usually appear in the form of arguments to the effect that an excluded or segregated foreign group is "inherently inferior" or is still not "ready for assimilation." The policy of Americanization is explained as being more than "a set of naturalization laws or formal requirements for admission to the country." It is presented in terms of a typical series of events rather than as a unique and special occurrence. The fact is stressed that the difficulties of immigrant adjustment are those which any new-comer experiences in a strange group. Natives are suspicious of outsiders and develop symbols of group identity which set them apart.

Specific racial groups, such as the Negro, or ethnic groups, such as the Mexican and the Jew, receive slight treatment in this type of survey. However, incidental credit is given to the Jewish group for

the introduction into Europe of Greek and Arabic thought. Also, the attempt is sometimes made to offset the stereotype of the Jew as moneylender:

Prior to the tenth century, the Jews were the leading money lenders in Europe. Christians soon began to rival them, however; ultimately they became much more important than the Jews in the field of banking.

Religion, when it is touched on at all, is treated from a secular, historical point of view. Jesus is presented as a Jew and a member of a Jewish sect. One account goes on to point out that the first Christians were "Hellenized Jews from northern Palestine and the cities of Asia Minor." The contributions of Judaism to Christianity are described as being: revelation of a supernatural law; Hebrew morality, righteousness, and obedience to God; the Old Testament; and the "other worldly" attitude which characterized the early Jewish-Christian groups. There is little in these accounts either to arouse or dissipate religious prejudices. The history of religion is presented in these historical surveys as in part a struggle against parochialism and provincialism. The development of freedom of thought and of religion is stressed. The growth of rationalism and its impact upon religion are traced. The Enlightenment is pointed to as resulting in a conception of religion less as institutionalized practice and faith and more as "a body of moral truths about the nature of the world." Such accounts are fairer to those who do not adhere to any of the organized religious groups than are most of those to be found in textbooks for secondary school use.

In discussing the techniques of intergroup relations, the emphasis in the surveys is almost exclusively on tolerance. Statements such as the following are typical:

. . . it is suggestive of the basic premise in the struggle of the Enlightenment for toleration—namely, that the religions of individual citizens is no business of the states. . . . The struggle for toleration was not fought on behalf of any particular sect, or out of a conviction that the competition of theologies in the arena of public debate would contribute to the closest approximation of a "true" religion. . . . The ideal of toleration . . . was this not chiefly an instrument for promoting difference but for attaining unity. What was wanted was not open-mindedness toward any opinions but freedom for demonstrating the truth.

The aims and organization of this type of survey are such as to minimize the presentation of materials on intergroup relations. Little space is devoted to the major problem areas suggested in this study. However, one of the surveys devotes attention to foreign influences in American life and, therefore, provides excellent material on ethnic groups. But there is no assurance that this problem will receive an equal amount of attention in following years. To the extent that the syllabuses and courses of study do deal with problems of intergroup relations, they are factually accurate. They are not, however, clearly correlated with the contemporary social scene, they are not dynamic, and they leave to the student the difficult task of applying their theses.

Surveys emphasizing contemporary social problems

This type of survey is the most common; most of the colleges in the sample studied use some variation of this approach. It emphasizes social situations in which society and the individuals composing it are not completely satisfied with the degree to which individual and collective desires are currently fulfilled. Its purpose is to present a realistic view of the total social scene, with emphasis on those common elements which bind the social sciences together. It stresses understanding of the social world as an important step in preparation for citizenship in a complex modern democracy.

The materials on society revealed in these surveys depict a rapidly changing scene, in which social relationships tend to become secondary and impersonal. Society is seen to be more and more a system of emotionally cold relationships. Social relationships in a modern complex society tend to move away from earlier personal and face-to-face contacts. One syllabus approaches the problem of the individual by noting the harmful effects upon him of industrialization—the anonymity of urban life on the one hand and of agrarian poverty on the other. Another gives some attention to the nature of human institutions, the bonds which hold society together, and the various types of groups. Such questions as, “Is the individual a product of society?” and “What is personality and how is it acquired?” are raised for discussion, but full and adequate treatment is lacking of the position of the individual in a democratic social order and of his rights and obligations.

The most serious weakness of this type of survey is the scant attention paid to specific ethnic and racial groups and to the basic principles which must be understood in order to conduce to sound thinking in the area of intergroup relations. Illustrative material drawn from the field would not obscure the basic principles in the social sciences but would illuminate them. In many instances, no attention at all is paid to the question of race. Sometimes materials on a particular group, such as the Negro, are omitted from a section on race. At times, confusion regarding the meaning of the term is evident:

Inter-breeding took place among the peoples of a fixed geographical or relatively fixed political area. . . . This inter-breeding took place for hundreds of years. The result was something approximating a national racial type. For instance, the racial elements within the geographical and political territory known as France—Latin, Alpine, Celtic, Nordic—have had few additions from the outside since the last of the barbarian invasions. This inter-breeding has tended to produce a French racial type.

This passage does not speak of a French race, as such, but comes very close to it. Since Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* is part of the basic reading in this particular course, however, the concept of race is somewhere adequately examined. The concept of caste is also used in this survey in defining the relations between Negroes and whites. In another section of the same survey, where racial mixtures in Brazil are discussed, the opportunity is overlooked to point out the relative absence of race prejudice in that country.

Another survey deals forthrightly with the problem of the Negro. It raises such questions as the following:

How is one to account for the observable differences in the conditions and ways of the Negroes and whites? Do they indicate racial differences or do Negroes have an equal chance in America? Do you think such discrimination on the basis of race rather than intelligence, is sound policy?

The study outline accompanying this survey includes a number of questions which apply to the segregation of Negroes in the city in which the survey is used. The questions are practical and require of the students close examination of the bases, ethical and otherwise, of the prejudices they may hold.

The Jewish group is infrequently mentioned; often it is described as a race rather than an ethnic group:

The Jews of the ancient world never quite attained a political nationalism in the modern sense. But so strong was their feeling of religion and race

At other times, Jews are described as an "Oriental people," or the entire group is associated with the Zionist movement.

The Jewish group is not the only ethnic group which sometimes received offhand treatment. For instance, one survey refers to the ethnic heterogeneity of Austria as a "ramshackle collection." In several of the surveys, no references to immigrant ethnic groups or accounts of their contributions to American civilization are to be found. Little attention is given in these syllabuses to Mexican-, Indian-, Chinese-, and Japanese-Americans. Immigration policies and the course which should be pursued to build a common way of life for all Americans regardless of their backgrounds are problems which are seriously neglected.

Religion is rarely discussed, either as a social phenomenon or as a moral doctrine. In discussions on nationalism or social control, it is sometimes mentioned incidentally, with the comment that in the last century religion played a more important part in strengthening nationalism than it does today. Political leaders have at all times recognized the power of religion in the development of nationalism. Religion, it is observed, serves both as a manipulative means toward a specific end and as a means of social control in general. "A common religion is a unifying bond which may be exploited for the generation of nationalistic sentiments."

Stereotypes are often dealt with as a propaganda device. Their usefulness is explained in promoting prejudices for ulterior motives. The use which Goebbels made of the stereotype of the Jew is pointed out. Other propaganda devices affecting the manipulation of attitudes are discussed, such as name calling, appeals to prestige, card-stacking, and appeals to humility.

In one instance, prejudice is presented through the raising of such discussion questions as:

Examine some of your own prejudices. What are some of the things toward which you are favorably prejudiced? Some of the things against which you are prejudiced? What is the origin and basis of

these prejudices of yours? To what extent do you think prejudices are a reaction to a felt threat to a vested interest?

In another case, prejudice is depicted as a highly variable and complex phenomenon. It is pointed out that in some areas of the world, members of divergent races may associate in the most amiable and free fashion. In other areas, practices of rigid social exclusion may prevail, supported by deep prejudicial attitudes. Discussions of cooperation, respect, and tolerance are incidental but well handled. The syllabuses authors have also exercised caution in avoiding over-generalizations, the use of emotionalized terms, unbalanced statements, and confusion in terms. The term race, however, proves troublesome and often leads to confusion.

The chief inadequacy of the material in this type of survey is its omission of some of the problems related to present-day tensions. The ethical issues involved, derived from the basic tenets of the American Creed, are not stressed. Belief in the dignity and worth of the individual is not high-lighted. Attention is paid in the syllabuses to such areas as social relationships and ethnic groups, but the materials on ethnic and racial groups are sometimes erroneous and often confusing. The Nazi interpretation of race has to some extent seeped into curriculum materials in higher learning. Such ethnic groups as the Italians and the Jews are referred to as races. The presentation of the Negro is frequently a limited one. The concept of American culture as a composite of contributions from many sources is not adequately stressed.

The materials in most instances do not make an effort to combat stereotypes and antipathetic attitudes. Usually no attempt is made to present the members of ethnic and racial groups as in-group members, or as potential in-group members, of our society. This may result from the fact that the survey materials often have not been thought through clearly in relation to the stated objectives of the courses.

Excellent factual materials on social groupings in a democracy, on social relationships, and on ethnic groups do appear in some of the surveys. At times, these go beyond factual description to present such qualities as cooperation and tolerance as basic needs in a democratic society.

Surveys emphasizing the comparative culture approach

Surveys frequently emphasize the comparative nature of culture. The aim of such emphasis is to achieve an objective and impartial understanding of the origins and nature of social institutions. This type of survey points up the diversity of human customs and traditions. One such survey describes as its aim "orientation in the social world which man created and in which he lives." A subsidiary aim is to present an integrated approach to the fields of government, economics, sociology, and anthropology.

An understanding of the group is conveyed through discussions of culture. "Culture" is defined as a social heritage composed of the folkways, mores, and institutions of a given social group; the nation, for example, is a social group. This national group possesses a set of common attributes, including a community of interest, a nation-idea embodied in myths and symbols, a common language, a common territory, a common racial heritage, actual or believed, and a common religion. It is pointed out that "no one of these attributes (except a common tradition) is a *sine qua non* of nationality." But note the use of the term racial in the survey course referred to.

Our democratic political structure is not generally discussed in terms of its underlying values. The political organization in a colonial New England village, among the Zuni of New Mexico, and in our urban and rural areas is, however, described, with the aim of conveying to the student a conception of cultural diversity and illustrating the continuity of folkways, mores, and institutions in each type of group from one generation to the next. The character of American nationality is discussed in terms of a number of basic characteristics. These are listed as: "beliefs in a modicum of political, economic, and social democracy; belief in the inevitability of progress but of a conservative sort; belief in education; the obligation to be successful; businessmen as the elite; distrust of 'foreigners'; Protestantism; sportsmanship; humanitarianism; and individualism." The contributions of "Anglo-Saxon" culture to the development of the American nation are discussed. The development of this particular national pattern is accounted for by such influences as the ethnic composition of the American people, the impact of European culture, and the conditioning influence of the frontier.

Discussion of the unifying and divisive factors in American nationality is particularly revealing. Some of the former pointed to are the basic Anglo-Saxon matrix, Puritan morality, religious tolerance, public education, and continental isolation. The divisive factors include ethnic diversity as a result of immigration, race conflict, religious diversity, and cultural pluralism. The possibilities for unity inherent in each of these factors might well be given equal stress.

Personality is described as a product of the particular culture in which it develops. In a city, continuous personality reconstruction takes place; on the other hand, few radical changes in personality take place in a primitive community. Personality is also shown to be dependent upon status and group membership; the security and stability of a particular personality structure may be the result of the status-position the individual occupies in his group. Social relationships are approached through comparative descriptions of life in a city, village, and primitive community. Their nature is distinctly different in each of these areas. As one moves from the primitive community to the city, one observes an increasing individuality in personal behavior, a lack of common symbols and sentiments, and an increase of social distance. Changes in social relationships from community to community are described, and the various types of such relationships catalogued.

In discussions of the character of American nationality, examples are given of varying social relationships in our society. The relationship of a minority group to the dominant group is characterized as an out-group relationship; within this context, special forms of relations with minorities are discussed, such as those resting on race prejudice and discrimination. Typical reactions on the part of "oppressed minorities" are presented. Ethnic groups are described as one of the important influences in shaping American life. In a section on the character of American nationality, such concepts are introduced as ethnic group, race, melting pot, minority, anti-Semitism, nationality, marginal man, and segregation. Various theories of assimilation and Americanization are presented. The distinction between racial homogeneity and cultural homogeneity is pointed out. One syllabus requires all students to write a term paper on "race and culture." The types of treatment accorded ethnic minorities in the

United States are discussed as an aspect of the character of American nationality.

America is depicted as a nation still in the making. Present-day trends and possible future developments are discussed in terms of the "theory of cultural symphonism: America as a federation of nationality groups." Thus, the materials emphasize cultural democracy.

An entire section in one syllabus is devoted to treatment of the Negro as a minority person in America. Basic Negro population trends are considered. The Negro's role in American economic and political life is discussed. Such problems as assimilation, discrimination, segregation, and marginality are treated in detail. This material forms an integral part of a discussion on the character of American nationality. Another section in this syllabus is devoted to the Jews as a minority group in America. The bases of anti-Semitism in the United States are considered. Forms of Jewish-Gentile adjustment are discussed—in terms of the ghetto and in terms of a "federation of American nationalities." The process of assimilation of the Jew is treated in detail; its stages are analyzed, and the partly assimilated Jew is considered within the concept of the "marginal man."

Another syllabus approaches comparative culture in terms of ancient history. The Jewish group is here presented only in terms of the "Hebrew people" of early Palestine. The history of the founding and downfall of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah is presented; the "Age of the Prophets" is discussed; the conflict between Hebraism and Hellenism is considered. Space is also devoted to topics on "the world mission of the Hebrew people" and the "origin of anti-Semitism." Discussion of Hebrew history should not, however, be the single means of presenting information about the Jewish group.

Mexicans, Indians, and Orientals are treated as minority groups on the American scene. The American national policy toward the Indian is discussed. Two antithetical forces, that fostering assimilation and that seeking to maintain tribal cultural autonomy, are presented. Consideration is given the general phenomenon of culture conflict and its effects on individuals. The same comparative treatment is used in connection with religion. In one syllabus, the nature of religious organization is depicted and contrast made between a

primitive community, a colonial New England village, and a modern community. Zuni rituals, ceremonies, and cults are described. Puritan theology and the church rituals of New England are presented. The changing church in urban and rural areas is discussed. Essentially, the function of these materials is to impart an objective understanding of cultural phenomena. The values postulated by this study may, incidentally, be communicated to the student, but the teaching-learning situation alone would reveal whether or not this communication actually takes place.

The concept of the individual is treated only sketchily. The social derivation of personality is discussed, with the clear implication that group membership affects personality. But the rights and responsibilities and duties of the individual are not considered. The concept of the group is treated in such a manner as to emphasize the existence of extensive variations in group structure. The essential nature of a democratic society is described; the idea of society as a complex of interpenetrating and interacting social groups may be implicit. In this respect, therefore, the materials do, though without explicitly stressing any values, impart many of those emphasized in the preceding chapter on groups in a democratic society.

Ethnic problems are presented in some detail. Whether the discussion helps students to think more easily of the members of out-groups as in-group individuals is uncertain. In outline form, however, the syllabuses do provide materials leading to an understanding of the role and problems of ethnic groups in our society. When America is depicted as a nation in the making, ethnic groups are implicitly included within the in-group framework where each is making a contribution to a new pattern of culture.

Surveys emphasizing community or regional needs

This type of survey represents a newer method of developing introductory social science courses. The special contribution of this material is in approach rather than content. The student is introduced to ideas by means of materials relating to his familiar, local situation. Two syllabuses state this aim in the following ways:

It was felt that the effectiveness of your introduction to modern society would be in direct ratio to your understanding of your role as an individual in that society and, further, that an honest and forthright

recognition of the racial factor as a prescriptive influence upon your individual role in the social order would add appreciably to the meaningfulness of the introduction.

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Greater use of what you already know about the natural, social, esthetic, religious, and literary features of the situation in which you live.

A Negro college using this type of survey, for example, is interested in teaching the student to recognize the influence of the racial factor on individual behavior in our society. The syllabus used in one college discusses social problems within the context of race relationships in the United States. The hope is that this treatment will aid the student in assigning to race its proper significance and will help him proceed to a "fuller understanding of modern society." This particular syllabus starts off with the concept of a region, deals with the folkways of the region in question, and then proceeds through a consideration of geography to a discussion of its political, economic, and sociological problems. The chief limitation of this type of approach is that it excludes pertinent social problems having no direct relevance for the particular region under study. There may also be overemphasis on purely local problems, which might help to develop in students an undesirable provincialism.

The idea of the individual is presented in the context of discussion of a world in conflict. The contemporary individual is shown to be the product of an industrialized society; his personality development is influenced by the strains and stresses of modern life. The social conditioning of the human individual is further related to the problem of race. How the biological individual becomes a social being is discussed. The mechanics of social behavior are analyzed and related to the development of prejudice. The phenomenon of hatred is considered. Variability among individuals is brought out in discussions of intelligence. The emphasis is on the relation of the individual to the particular culture pattern of which he is a part.

Culture is presented as highly variable. The differing forms it may take affect the nature of group organization within them. The group is regarded as the product of a prevailing culture; the concept of wide variation is, therefore, carried over from the culture to the

group. This point of view is, however, limited to only one of the syllabuses analyzed.

The group is treated in connection with the consideration of poverty, races, minorities, and nations. Such treatment imparts the idea of wide diversity among the groups in our society. What membership means in such groups as a race, a minority group, and a nation is considered in the process of defining them. Explicit and systematic treatment of the idea of the group as such is rare.

Since the approach in these surveys is in each instance through the local needs or problems of the group using them, racial and ethnic groups are accorded a somewhat limited treatment. One syllabus used in a Southern Negro college provides major treatment only to the Negro group. In a midwestern college, major consideration is given the German-American and Swedish-American groups. The limitation of this approach lies in the fact that some groups of crucial importance are either excluded from consideration or are given minor treatment. The Negro college syllabus devotes minor treatment to Jews, Mexicans, and Indians, and none to Germans, Swedes, and other groups with a European background. The midwestern college syllabus gives brief treatment to Negroes and none to Jews, Mexicans, or Italians.

In the Negro college syllabus, the concept of race is looked at within the context of world race problems. The midwestern syllabus approaches the problem from the point of view of cultural diversity. In the one case, race problems in Europe, Africa, and Asia are examined. In the other, intergroup relations are treated from the point of view of American immigrant history. Both emphasize the role of ethnic and racial groups in contemporary civilization, but within a somewhat narrow range.

Race is presented as a questionable cultural concept and as a "bio-anthropological phenomenon." Attention is paid to the popular fallacies of race, and the significance of the racial myth is pointed out. The frequent error of referring to the Jewish ethnic group as a race occurs here, as it does in the other types of survey examined. The additional error is made of referring to the ethnic groups in the Baltic and Balkan areas of Europe as "races."

Religion is treated at length by one of the syllabuses in an exemplary historical manner. The aim of this presentation is to "inter-

pret a number of the religions of the Middle West in terms of their vital connections with other facets of human experience." Materials are presented showing how religion has shaped historical development and how it affects human relations in the present. The three major religions in the United States—Protestantism, Roman Catholicism, and Judaism—are treated in detail. The variations within each are presented. In the treatment of the Protestants, materials on the following groups are presented: Lutherans, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Mennonites, Amish, Baptists, Disciples, Mormons, and Christian Scientists. The Roman Catholic Church is described as including elements of both modernism and traditionalism. The existence of divergent points of view with Judaism is noted.

In each instance, an objective historical account is given. For example, in detailing the early history of Christianity, reference is made to the "Jewish Christians in the First Century A.D.," "Jesus a Jew, faithful to the law," and "the Jewish Christian Church at Jerusalem." References of this type, as has been noted, are infrequent on the secondary school level. They are also rare on the college level, since few of the syllabuses treat religion in any detail. A full treatment of diverse religions tends to leave in the student's mind an objective, comparative impression of various religious groups. An understanding of their development and of their contemporary relationship to one another is made possible through a detailed historical presentation.

Surveys of this type are remarkably deficient in their treatment of the techniques of social relationships. In most of them no attention is paid to the phenomena of scapegoating, discrimination, tolerance, and cooperation. One of the syllabuses does not even discuss the general problem of prejudice. The materials deal with the problem of social relationships incidental to a discussion of race, religion, ethnic groups, and immigrant problems. Anti-Semitism, anti-Catholic agitation, and anti-immigrant agitation are discussed in this context. Race conflict is explained in terms of its effect on social relations. Ethnic prejudice is considered in a general discussion of the phenomenon of hatred. Factors contributing to the development of prejudice are considered in connection with the growth of personality, the inference being that prejudice is a social phenomenon

incorporated into the personality structure through social experiences.

Many pertinent social problems, such as those dealing with propaganda, assimilation, and Americanization, are excluded from this type of survey. The danger here lies in the development of parochialism; the exclusion of general social problems weights the material in the direction of local provincial concerns.

The concept of the individual is treated with full cognizance of the dependence of personality upon social factors. The development of personality is related to the strains and stresses of contemporary society. This approach emphasizes the forces which influence contemporary personality types and the manner in which group structure molds personality. One syllabus contains a brief discussion of liberty and freedom, but this is not tied in with the rights and privileges of individuals in a democratic society and their implications for personality.

The nature of personality development is also considered from the point of view of race; the manner in which race may influence such development is shown. This type of treatment is carried to its logical conclusion in an analysis of hatred and prejudice. Hatred is presented as a social fact dependent upon cultural influences for its existence; a tendency to exhibit prejudice and hatred, therefore, becomes a personality peculiarity amenable to change.

College Texts in Sociology and Introductory Social Science

Textbooks, too, exhibit a multiplicity of approaches to intergroup relations. College texts, as contrasted with high school texts, are in general more factually accurate and present a more systematic and carefully integrated view of the groups functioning in society. At the higher educational level, it is feasible to present to the student a more comprehensive ideological framework for his social thinking. While the discussion may be more theoretical, this does not necessarily reduce the number of facts presented. The greater maturity of the students permits more adequate factual coverage and the mention of divers matters on which the secondary school is still restricted or silenced.

The college texts contain less of what may be deemed by some

to be preaching or moralizing. The pointing-out of ethical implication of social issues should not, of course, be confused with preaching. In most cases, social reform is approached, if at all, indirectly rather than directly. The desire to remain scientific, objective, and impartial often leads the author to present two or more views which may conflict. Often, he does not "take sides," although his sympathies are not always well concealed.

In college texts there is less discussion of specific groups, except in so far as they are used for illustrative purposes. Emphasis is on the general and the abstract. For example, in discussions of religion, the church as a social institution receives far more emphasis than does any particular church or the problems society faces today due to the prejudices felt by the members of one religious group toward the members of others.

Widely used college texts are in general characterized by restraint and caution. There is less oversimplification, overgeneralization, confusion of terms, or unbalanced treatment than in school texts. The desire is manifest to define terms precisely and to use them in accordance with their definitions. The authors are only partially successful, however, in realizing this aim. Again, the term which most often proves troublesome is race. There are fewer flat statements and resounding pronouncements than in high school texts. It is often true that more questions are raised than are answered; the purpose of the texts, however, is to provide factual framework and intellectual tools for thinking through problems.

In contrasting the sociology texts and the texts surveying the whole field of social science, the following differences appear. Coverage of sociological topics in the sociology texts is wider, while the surveys are more selective. The inclusion in the surveys of material from the fields of government and economics tends to exclude much sociological material. This sometimes leads to full treatment of a few topics; in other cases, it leads to brief treatment of practically all. Discussion in the surveys is less theoretical and more pointedly factual. Sometimes, they make more sweeping generalizations, but their chief purpose is to present factually accurate material.

In general, there is less material in the college texts than in the high school texts which could be construed as being inimical to good

intergroup relations. Not only do they present fuller accounts, but they make fuller recourse to recent research findings and scholarly studies in the various related fields. While the approach of the college texts is in a sense less "popular," the effort is clearly apparent to make them readable and to arouse serious interest on the part of the student. The major responsibility of the authors, as revealed in the texts, is to provide a factual basis for thought and, possibly, for action, though it cannot safely be taken for granted that action will actually follow.

The group

In most cases, a technical approach is made to the study of groups. Concern for definition, classification, and comparison of the various types of groups seems to overshadow concern for good relations. The definitions are markedly similar in emphasizing common interests and purposes and cooperative action. The power of the group over the individual in modern society is stressed, its capacity to shape the individual being of greater importance than individual ability to alter the group. The reciprocal relations between the group and its members are, however, pointed up.

There seems insufficient recognition of the variability of the individuals who compose groups. The group is not adequately pictured as a norm with a range of members exhibiting the specific quality of normativeness in greatly magnified or greatly minified form. A notable exception occurs: one text conceives of group membership as forming a bell-shaped curve; the extremes are often cut off to form separate groups, as in the case of criminals on the one hand and martyrs on the other. Another text discusses the group as a social mass having finely graded strata of power. This conception of subordination and superordination, or of a "pecking order" within the group, effectually destroys a conception of a group as the mere additive conjunction of a number of identical human integers.

One point on which all the texts are in agreement is that the group is a culture-bearing agency which is tremendously important in personality structuring. In general, there is little emphasis upon the intrinsic worth or dignity of the individual; his worth is socially conferred as he wins social status or group recognition. One text, however, observes that recognition of the potential worth of the

"other fellow" is necessary to undermine intergroup antipathy such as often exists between Negroes and whites. Only in connection with the discussion of primary and secondary groups is the matter of personal worth and its recognition commonly discussed. In making this distinction, it is shown that primary group interests frequently have to bow to those of larger secondary groups. The primary group, one text points out, fails to equip us to view groups objectively and to plan intelligently for their improvement. Others assert, on the contrary, that primary groups carry our finest values and are most important in shaping human personality; they are at the same time presumed to function in an arbitrary manner denying freedom to their members. Another author says that in the primary group, cooperation is spontaneous, but that it becomes compulsory in secondary group relations where coercive controls operate.

One text takes the position that when our primary group sentiments come into conflict with the welfare of the nation as a whole, "the greater good demands that we give precedence to derivative group ideals." In the interests of a better America, "regional-mindedness" in the attitudes of our legislators might well give way to "national-mindedness." Such a presentation implies the extension of in-group treatment to ever-larger aggregations of human beings.

Individual worth is looked upon as a key concept in a democracy; this is made apparent by contrast with other systems of government. Under a totalitarian philosophy, the state is supreme and is an end in itself. Individual rights are destroyed. The state, through the use of military power, secret police, repression, purges and propaganda, extends its power over the individual, the family, industry, agriculture, labor, and the schools. American democracy, on the other hand, is "based upon orderly processes of change, the use of the ballot, constitutional government, individual rights, and the equalization of opportunity. These achievements are not maintained automatically but only by constant struggle and vigilance."

Individual worth and dignity are further emphasized in discussions of the process of Americanization. American democracy, these texts explain, implies four freedoms: freedom of speech and expression, the freedom of every person to worship God in his own way, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. One of the surveys stresses group responsibility for individual welfare. Still another

deals with the deprivation of civil liberties suffered by minorities. This survey also devotes a section to the rights and privileges of the individual accruing through full access to civil liberties.

These materials bring out the nature of cultural diversity and the characteristics of democratic unity. Sectional and cultural differences within the United States are pointed out. One syllabus, while presenting cultural diversity as a desirable value at one point, presents it in an undesirable light in a discussion of the social organization of the Roman Empire. The late Empire is described as a social system in which diverse religions and cultures existed side by side and in which toleration was practiced. Then it is observed that cultural diversity was one of the factors contributing to the Empire's decline.

It is the contention of one author that the "big society" composed of many heterogeneous out-groups is forced to employ stereotypes of the members of the several groups composing it in order to make communication possible at all. While it is recognized that stereotypes are likely, by their very nature, to be misleading and provocative of trouble, their use is deemed imperative. But when social attitudes are formed largely in terms of stereotypes, it is small wonder that intergroup relations are often hostile. The question is certainly open of whether communication among groups must of necessity be in terms of stereotypes that so often distort the view. The dilemma which these varying views suggest is not resolved in the texts. Almost nothing is said which is helpful in suggesting ways through which the values of the primary group could be applied to the wider society.

Discussion of in-groups and out-groups is reasonably frequent, but little is done to suggest how the in-group can become more comprehensive and include more persons now belonging to out-groups. In-groupness is looked upon as "the development of the we-feeling in associates and their growth in capacity and will to act together." The extension of this "we-feeling" to others is clearly called for, but how is it to be achieved? No answer is suggested by the college teaching materials.

The texts devote considerable discussion to the manner in which the individual is influenced by the group, how he expresses himself through groups, and how he may use the group as a device for

giving vent to his frustrations; the latter is usually directed to members of out-groups. With the approval of the in-group, the individual is thus afforded a fine opportunity for expressing his aggressive impulses. It is assumed that, if this were not possible, the individual would wreak his hatred upon members of his own in-group. Personality tensions are eased through assigning to out-group members responsibility for our self-made ills and through the development of superiority feelings toward those so unfortunate as not to belong to our own group. Most of the texts discuss and illustrate the feeling of ethnocentrism which is basic to these processes. They are, moreover, quite free from unconscious expressions of ethnocentrism on the part of the authors themselves. Warnings of the dangers inherent in ethnocentrism are frequent.

Occasional reflections upon other groups which reveal ethnocentrism appear, as is illustrated in the following comment on racial and cultural purity. In discussing the exclusion of immigrants, the writer of one text, seeking to justify exclusion, speaks of "people's reluctance to become a hodge-podge of diverse colors, tongues, and faiths, with the most discordant moral and economic standards." Similarly, the same author, in discussing discrimination and the means of allaying injured feelings writes of the Malays of Borneo, "Once they have scored off the whites [in football] they do not mind conceding their superiority in the matter of government." Such statements are made in spite of the fact that the author states elsewhere that no race is inherently superior or inferior to another.

Discussion of personality is on a considerably higher level in the college texts than in those intended for high school use. There is less of the "glamour," "how to influence people," and "success story" treatment and more of sound psychological definition. The prevailing approach is that of cultural determinism. Many of the definitions given tend to become technically involved and to reveal little about the worth and dignity of human personality or the respect which should be accorded it. The complexity of personality is stressed, but emphasis is insufficient upon the ways in which such factors as color and creed serve as basic determinants. Conspicuous by their absence are case studies and life histories portraying concretely how the personalities of minority group members are often distorted by the pressures exerted by the majority culture.

The processes through which unity and diversity develop in our society are brought out in discussion of such concepts as Americanization, accommodation, and assimilation. Americanization involves the social adjustment of the newcomer to the American environment; it is not, however, limited to immigrants. The materials point out that native Americans, too, are involved in this reciprocal and edifying process.

The varying historical approaches to Americanization are presented—the dominant-group theory, the melting-pot theory, and the theory of cultural democracy. The dominant-group theory holds that the newcomers must do all the changing and mold themselves into the form of the dominant group. This theory, as the materials point out, emphasizes a “negative attitude toward the past of the immigrant.” There is little discussion of cultural democracy. The belief seems to be prevalent that the melting pot does not melt, even if it should. One author, without offering any criticism of the theory, says, “The future of the American ‘melting pot’ is still open to argument.” It is recognized as inconceivable that the individual should “throw himself, cultural patterns and all, into the melting pot, and lose his racial identity in his adopted national group.” Some skepticism is shown for Americanization programs built around this idea, since it has unfortunate connotations relative to inferior peoples. One author asks, “Do we not rather want him [the immigrant] to contribute his unique portion to our social order and retain his best differences?”

The process of spiritual incorporation involved in assimilation is usually taken for granted, a process often hastened by intermarriage. The concept of “diversity within unity” is not stressed. A cooperative culture is less often contemplated than a fused one or one made up of numerous segments. There is, it is true, frequent admission that no one culture contains all possible worth-while elements; but that a culture is possible which is not dominated by one set of values and folkways is less often considered. Without clear acceptance of the concept of cultural democracy, the artificiality of much of the Americanization process is noted, and the dubious wisdom of surrendering too swiftly and too completely one’s old culture in favor of a new one is pointed out. Most authors appear not yet to

have reached the point of advocating cultural democracy but show signs of disaffection with the melting-pot theory.

Ethnic groups

Separate sections in the texts are seldom devoted to specific ethnic and cultural groups; an occasional paragraph appears here and there. Not infrequently, incidental references to such groups are used for illustrative purposes.

The term "ethnic group" is seldom used; nationality is more common. Groups are sometimes carelessly referred to as races even where, as in the case of the Jews, they constitute not a race but a nationality or religious or cultural group. Most discussion of ethnic groups falls under the topics immigration and assimilation; a very considerable part of the treatment is historical and statistical. Reasons for immigration to America are often listed, the processes of adjustment are stressed, and listings of group contributions or famous names frequently occur. The tendency to classify immigrants as either "old" or "new" does not appear, but the customary invidious distinctions between them on a subjective basis are made.

Occasionally, an author slips into the error of condemning whole groups of immigrants by saying that they became "unassimilated masses." Voluntarism is presumed to explain the residential segregation of certain groups. A natural desire to enjoy the fellowship of people speaking their own tongue and laboring at the same low-paying jobs is not balanced by the facts of economics which effectually barred immigrants from any other course. Little is done to disabuse the minds of students of the "myth of pure voluntarism." Mixed causal forces were at work and are not adequately noted. There is much deploring of cultural islands, but few suggestions of how two-way bridges can be built.

In these texts on the whole, there is a considerable amount of debunking concerning immigrants. An effort is made to break down stereotypes of foreign peoples. The idea that immigrants have a higher crime rate than the native born is disproved, as are other misconceptions. Little discussion of separate nationalities appears. This tends to impartial discussion of immigration as a sociological process, but it does nothing to correct misconceptions or destroy preju-

dices concerning national-origin groups which may have been acquired at earlier stages in the educational process. Confusion between ethnic and cultural groups on the one hand, and racial groups on the other, is a fault of which many of the authors are guilty.

There is general agreement in these teaching materials that the Jewish people are not a race. One author implies that they once were when he says that they are a "race-conscious group" who have long since ceased to be a racial type. There is considerable discussion of Jewish history, especially of the early history of Judaism. Nowhere is there even a brief treatment of the Jew in the modern world, although frequent references are made to historic persecutions of the Jews and to the anti-Semitism of Nazi Germany. One text speaks of the Jew as being "racially diverse," probably meaning that there are Jews of many nationalities. Another presents the view that the Jew is essentially a personality rather than a racial or religious type, and says that his fluctuating psychic type has been produced by variations in social ostracism, suffering, abuse, persecution, and the unique adjustments which individuals make to such treatment. Jewish cultural contributions are often noted. One text goes so far as to say, "Yet it is doubtful if any group of people have contributed as much to human welfare and advancement as the despised Jew." Jewish figures of eminence of our own day such as George Gershwin, Irving Berlin, Louis Brandeis, Felix Frankfurter, Albert A. Michelson, Albert Einstein, and Franz Werfel are cited as proof. The constructive participation of Jews in municipal, state, and national politics is noted. One author mentions their struggles to obtain greater social and economic justice. He writes, "They have protested against unjust economic conditions, and have urged a more just distribution of wealth than now exists." It is unfortunate that this author indulges in a well-meant overgeneralization conveying the idea that all Jews are interested in economic reform, better housing, antilynching laws, and the preservation of free speech. Another author remarks upon their cooperation with Gentile groups where economic welfare is involved. The very low divorce rate among Jews is singled out for comment, as well as the slight incidence of alcoholism among them. This last tendency leads one author to call them the "wine-proof people of today," a complimentary overgeneralization.

The stereotyping of the Jew is frequently mentioned. It is pointed out that non-Jews fail to make the distinctions between Jews of different nationalities that the Jews themselves make. Variations on the basis of wealth, social class, education, degree of orthodoxy in religion, and so forth are largely ignored in the texts, as they are in popular thinking. One volume points out the anomalous position of the intellectual Jew, a strife-torn marginal man whose religious tradition favors clannishness but whose intellectual training disposes him to cosmopolitan associations. It is noted that the very word Jew is a highly emotionalized stereotype; one text includes as a case problem the account of a Gentile schoolboy's indignation at having his Jewish school friend called a Jew. Significant discussion questions are based upon this brief account.

No adequate discussion appears of the historic or contemporary roots of anti-Semitism, the dangers it involves, or the steps necessary to reduce its virulence in the modern world. One text does point out that trifling experiences, especially in childhood, are often points of infection. One author claims that literary characterizations such as those of Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice* or of Fagin in *Oliver Twist* can produce anti-Semitism.

Nature of race and racial prejudice

All of the books, except one, contain rather lengthy discussions of the nature and implications of race. There is remarkable agreement as to definition; their exact language varies, but all definitions agree that race has a narrowly biological meaning. It is sharply distinguished from culture. One text says explicitly, "No evidence is available to show that preferences for one culture trait rather than another are due to inherent temperament" having a racial foundation. There is general agreement that Jews are not a race, that Aryans are not a race, and that Germans and Americans do not constitute races. The extreme difficulty of selecting the physical criteria of race, of identifying them, and of applying them in the case of specific individuals is so easily demonstrated that the term becomes almost an abstraction. But feeling and thinking in terms of race, however erroneously, are so ingrained that the popular concept cannot be entirely ignored.

The point is repeatedly emphasized that no race is inherently

superior or inferior; the capacities of the individual are instead significant. Particular emphasis is placed on intelligence as an individual variable. The point is made again and again that there are no "pure" races and that what seem to be racial attributes are constantly changing with changing environmental conditions and racial mixture. Some authors contend that the group is strengthened by such mixture, while others say that science has not yet given us an answer or that "race mixture appears to be neither good nor bad in itself."

Race prejudice is handled differently by different authors, some contending that a distinction must be made between race antipathy and race prejudice. The former is presumed to be due to the arousal of adverse sensory reactions. One author, in describing this feeling, writes:

The persons against whom antipathy is expressed usually cannot help themselves; they generally find such antipathy impossible to allay or to overcome, especially if it be due to color of skin or to facial angle.

Such passages may well be used by some students as an authoritative and convenient support for the rationalization of their own prejudices. The inclusion of such statements in a textbook seems unwarranted, regardless of what additional statements concerning race prejudice may be made. We cannot, of course, blink away the fact of prejudice. Its concrete results are delineated in the texts. These include the cultural and/or physical segregation of the minority group, derogation, excessive competitiveness, and persecution in a variety of ways, both subtle and unsubtle. In its extreme form, organized prejudice, known as racism, becomes a national obsession. This point is frequently made; but the danger to the United States from this form of social malaise is not pointed up.

The phenomenon of race prejudice is explained by one author in terms of group prejudice, the inference being that it is socially derived and is dependent upon the attitudes and customary actions of one's own group. Racial prejudice, therefore, "can be directed toward a particular individual only by identifying that individual with a group, and then by projecting toward him the attitude already formed toward that group." The emotional composition of race prejudice is described as consisting of varying mixtures of hatred,

dislike, resentment, distrust, envy, fear, feelings of obligation, possessive impulses, and guilt. According to another author, the elements of prejudice lie in two areas: (1) the fact that "two groups, social, ethnic, or economic must live together," and (2) the fact that "the subordinate group is limited in its privileges and opportunities in society." Control of prejudice hinges on the condition that the subordinate groups be no longer considered a threat. Provision of opportunities for intimate contacts, in which individuals come to identify themselves with one another by coming to understand one another's personal experiences, will aid in achieving this desired result. The error in this presentation lies in its oversimplification.

Some texts employ the concept of caste to describe Negro-white relations in the United States, but the term is not clearly defined, and its full implications for a democratic society are not pointed out. Its use is limited to Negro-white relations; in reality, social castes exist within a number of groups.

Negro-Americans. Despite segregation and caste structuring, Negro culture in the United States is not essentially separate; it is merely a special edition of the culture of the white majority. Most of what was culturally peculiar to the African Negro has been lost. De-Africanization was swift and complete. Several authors display approval of this complete or nearly complete assimilation into American culture. Some texts continue to refer to the "Negro problem," to the "race problem," or to the Negro race as an "outstanding problem." The involvement of all Americans, regardless of color, in the problem is not properly stressed. The insecurity felt by both whites and Negroes is pointed out, and the frustrations suffered by educated Negroes are indicated as the social dangers they actually are. In general, the issues are well stated; there is little in the texts to incite or support prejudice.

On the other hand, little material deals with the improvement of race relations, or attempts to help those who are already prejudiced to overcome their prejudices. Many facts are given, but it has been shown that facts alone are not of much help to persons with strong prejudices. Vague allusions are made to lessening competition between whites and Negroes, since competition creates insecurity and consequent aggression. But how competition is to be reduced in a social order based upon it is not suggested.

One text presents the theory of "parallelism"—that is, equal but separate institutions—though without advocating it. Several authors praise the work done by biracial committees and commissions, but this can hardly be accepted as a final solution to the problem. One text quotes a statement to the effect that there will be no solution in our time. While this may be true, such a statement, unaccompanied by suggestions for immediate action that will contribute to a solution at some possibly remote future date, tends to create in the student a feeling of hopeless resignation to the *status quo*. Without underemphasizing the peculiar difficulties which beset persons of color in the United States, it would be possible to discuss their stake in the solution of many problems—social, political, economic, and cultural—which seriously affect the future welfare of all Americans. The very fact that they are recognized and treated as common problems can of itself do much to bring Negroes and whites into a cooperative relationship on an equal plane.

Japanese- and Chinese-Americans. Far less consideration is given the members of the Mongolian race than is given the Negro. The the most common statement concerning them is to the effect that conflict between them and members of the white race is due to economic competition, a competition varying directly with their concentration in local communities. In general, due to their relatively small numbers, they are not presumed to constitute a serious problem. While they are a different race, racial antipathy toward them is not attributed to whites. Does this not make suspect the antipathy presumably felt by whites toward Negroes? Does not the latter clearly turn out to be the result of a constellation of cultural factors? The existence of prejudice is admitted, particularly toward the Japanese, who, in spite of the fact that they came from a complex civilization distinctly unlike ours, readily learn our ways. Their intelligence is not questioned, but racial difference, especially color visibility, is held by one author as sufficient ground for their exclusion. This author assumes that the American people abhor a "hodgepodge" (an emotionally colored word) of any sort and are justified in avoiding one so far as possible by exclusionary tactics. Another author goes to the extreme of saying, "In fact they [the Japanese] are highly unassimilable." What does this statement mean? Has not their successful cultural assimilation been the strong-

est reason for the dislike shown them by native whites? This statement would seem to be fallacious, in addition to employing an incorrect term to describe biological amalgamation. Japanese marriages to native white Americans are, it is true, not common; but this in no way establishes the truth of the statement; amalgamation and assimilation do not necessarily march side by side.

The Chinese are seriously neglected in the college texts examined. Only one mentions them in any detail aside from historical sketches of Chinese immigration. This author holds that the accommodation of the Chinese to American life is "excellent," far better than that of the Japanese. "It has been achieved," he writes, "by a policy of strict segregation and the maintenance of a separate cultural life." "The Japanese who are probably more fully assimilated into American life, are more poorly adjusted," he adds. In addition to the confusion created by the use of the term "assimilated" in a somewhat different sense than other authors use it, we are led to wonder whether such a statement does not constitute tacit advocacy of segregation as a social policy. Is accommodation what we most desire?

The many problems faced by Japanese- and Chinese-Americans in our society and the relation of whites to these problems are ignored. In the light not only of our own internal difficulties, but also of our widening contacts and responsibilities with respect to the millions of Mongoloid peoples in Asia, a profitable, concrete approach grounded in our own cultural milieu is being sadly overlooked. While there is little in the texts which would worsen our relations with Oriental peoples, there is little that will help to improve them.

Indian-Americans and Mexican-Americans. Although these two groups are in many respects culturally different from each other, they are discussed together because they are racially similar and because both groups receive scant notice in the texts. Accounts relating to them are brief and factual. The Indians are referred to in one book as a "national minority" capable of limited cultural assimilation. The government, this text goes on to say, has fostered cultural autonomy for the Indians; this effort is looked upon with approval by the author. The preservation of Indian traditions, arts, crafts, and ceremonials is considered wholesome. But a policy of segregation, while well designed to preserve cultural distinctiveness,

is not suited to the development of genuine cultural democracy. The failure, from the point of view of the total society, of the policy of cultural isolation is clearly indicated by the statement in the same text that Indians educated outside of Indian culture look with scorn upon tribal life and enter into conflict with their elders. Cultural marginality is thus seen to be a source of personality disorganization as well as cultural conflict.

No up-to-date and significant discussion is to be found of the problems faced by Mexican-Americans and their white American neighbors. A few historical facts and such observations as that most Mexican-Americans are unskilled migratory workers or tenant farmers are deemed sufficient. It is pointed out that the presence of Mexican-Americans aggravates problems of housing, education, economic competition, and racial prejudice. The factor of color visibility operates with the Mexican- just as it does with the Negro- and Japanese-Americans. The general effect of such discussions is to convey the idea that Indian- and Mexican-Americans do not constitute a particularly desirable group. Nothing is said about their contributions or their good qualities; this is true to a considerable degree of all racial groups. College texts in general afford even less information which would lead to sympathetic appreciation of the people of other races than do high school texts.

Religious groups

The texts show more concern for religion as a social process and for religious institutions in the abstract than for particular religious groups and their relations with each other. Differences are noted by some authors in the approach of varying religious groups to human problems. Almost no mention is made of the possibility of using religion as a unifying social force.

Most of the text material relates to Christian groups. One volume discusses in a sympathetic way what are called "post-Theological religions," such as pantheism, humanism, and the "religion of science." It is the opinion of this author that most people are not taught to accept such beliefs as religious, but that some religion of this type is "accepted by a large portion of the masses who have lost their theological or personalistic conception of religion" and that "such religions are constantly growing in importance." He believes that

the acceptance of theological religion by many communicants is merely nominal. Such statements indicate that not all college texts, at any rate, are unfair to the nonbeliever, as many high school texts seem to be.

Judaism is not given full or enlightening treatment. The religion of the early Jews is considered merely as a forerunner of Christianity. It culminated, as one author puts it, in "Christianity with its claims as a religion for world use." Another author says that the search for justice lies at the heart of Judaism; another emphasizes its strong social content, its emphasis on righteousness and mercy and the fact that it is less centered on other-worldly affairs than are some other religions. One text mentions the extensive social welfare work of members of the Jewish faith. There is, however, no discussion of the religious organizations, beliefs, and practices of the modern Jew, nor of the marked differences among them in religious matters.

Discussion of the Catholic Church is more ample and shows a pronounced contemporary approach. One oversimplified statement appears, bearing upon the history of Catholicism: the author states that Catholicism provided a "rigid religious doctrine to meet the needs of uneducated people." Of course, it met the needs of more than the uneducated, and, as another author notes, its rigidity was balanced by considerable adaptability. This author observes that while Catholic organization is "rigid and conservative," it is "at the same time flexible and capable of both historical and geographical adjustments."

Many authors note numerous liberal trends in present-day Catholicism. Frequent references are made to papal encyclicals which deal with labor problems, minimum wages, child welfare, war, economic exploitation, and other social problems. On this topic, one author writes:

Although many Protestant Churches would not have tolerated at that time a discussion of such questions by their ministers, the head of Roman Catholicism sixty years ago maintained that the state should protect the workers through regulation concerning the length of the working day, the labor of women and children, adequate conditions of labor, minimum wages, and Sunday rest. . . .

Little appears that can be interpreted as fostering religious prejudice, although one textbook writer notes the fact that prejudice

against many immigrants springs from the fact that they are Catholic. And an exception must be made with respect to one author who severely criticizes the Catholic Church; his view, however, is generally anticlerical and includes other religious organizations. He contends that the church is more concerned with holding its own members than with winning converts and interprets this as a sign of conservatism. Concerning its efforts in Mexico to "lure" members into "free unions" dominated by the church, he remarks as follows:

Such tactics only excited the sardonic mirth of men who had risked their skins for the exploited workers years before the clergy showed a spark of interest in them.

He claims further that such highly organized religions take an economic toll and consume too much of the time of their adherents. He writes further:

An ascendant clergy invariably presents conduct in false perspective. The *social* virtues—sobriety, truthfulness, fair dealing, helpfulness—are thrown into the shade by the *religious* merits of devoutness, strict observance, church attendance and support. The offenses which shook theologians, such as heresy, blasphemy, and scoffing are painted so black that lying, dishonesty, and injustice look but gray. In the end you get a people austere and devout but not truthful, loyal, and kindly.

This author accuses the Protestant churches of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of being even more complacent than were the Catholics about the evils of slavery and the slave trade. His tone is that of "a plague on church and chapel alike."

The texts tend to emphasize the shift from negative to positive controls in religion, increasing secularization with the state overshadowing the ecclesiastical authorities, and the movement toward what some call a "more enlightened type of religion." The conflict between the orthodox, the less orthodox, and the nonbeliever which results from such factors is not discussed, nor are the competition and conflict between the two major branches of Christians. Little information is offered which would provide sympathetic insight into the beliefs and practices of the major religious groups in America today; little aid is offered those already holding prejudices.

Cooperation among the three major religious groups is suggested in several of the texts. One statement to this effect reads as follows:

When Catholic, Jew, and Protestant stand shoulder to shoulder on a commonly accepted social welfare program, a new social order may be envisaged.

Another pictures on the same page three leaders in the secularization of religion—Rabbi Stephen S. Wise (Jewish), the Rev. John A. Ryan (Catholic), and the Rev. John Haynes Holmes (Protestant). There is no discussion of the legion of minor sects against whom much prejudice is directed.

In general, the divisive aspect of religion receives fuller treatment than its unifying aspect. The superiority of the Christian faith is usually unquestioned. There is relatively little correlation of religious beliefs and practices with the broader issues of politics, social questions, and economic reform. While a somewhat schematic and sociologically technical approach to religious groups is appropriate on the college level, it would be possible to preserve such an approach and still discuss in concrete terms some of the more perplexing issues arising from the relations of different religious groups to one another in the United States today.

Techniques of social relationships

What is the evidence concerning the treatment of in-groups and out-groups by the college texts? To what extent do prejudiced statements, stereotyping, discrimination, and scapegoating, as applied to out-groups, appear on the one hand, and tolerance, respect, and cooperation, as applied to in-groups, appear on the other? Ample evidence exists that text authors are almost unanimously aware of these two divergent points of view and that they strive to avoid statements which would encourage hostility. They seem deeply concerned with making students equally conscious of the two different approaches and anxious to avoid disparagement and unfair treatment of out-group members.

Prejudice is clearly defined and illustrated. Preconceptions, unfounded assumptions, and the way in which such attitudes are culturally conditioned are pointedly referred to. The psychological processes through which prejudice serves as a defense mechanism are mentioned, if not always carefully explained. Several of the texts attempt to make a distinction between prejudice and racial antipathy, which is assumed to be a sort of biological repulsion. Such

a discussion does little but becloud the real issue, since it rests upon false assumptions about race and about psychological processes themselves. The unwarranted deprivations produced by prejudice are deplored in many texts, but little is suggested by way of remedy except the acquisition of factual information.

Stereotyping is in most cases discussed in general terms. The use of emotionalized symbols is explained as a propaganda device through which individuals are depersonalized and made mere group units with identical traits. Illustrations are rather frequently given. Negro stereotypes such as "emotionally unstable," "primitive morality," "happy-go-lucky," "boisterous," "carry razors," and "wear gaudy clothes" are listed, with the purpose of showing their dangerous inaccuracy. The authors do not themselves invoke stereotypes.

There is little discussion of discrimination as such, but examples are frequently given of the manner in which certain groups are discriminated against in our society. It is doubtful whether merely calling attention to violations of the democratic theory we profess can of itself do much to minimize such practices. There is need for more convincing proof of the ethical error committed when group discrimination is practiced and of how its continuance produces undesirable effects upon the total community.

Looking at the other side of the shield, we find fairly extensive discussions of cooperation, respect, and tolerance, though they are not always clearly differentiated. Cooperation is as a rule discussed as a sociological process rather than as a social value. The growing need for cooperation is stressed. Its kinds and levels are distinguished, as well as the various aims to which it is directed. Mutual striving for common goals is most stressed. The dangers inherent in intensified cooperation among members of an in-group when in rivalry or conflict with an out-group are pointed out. The desirability is stressed of developing powers of sympathy and imaginative identification with others. How difficult this is in a society where rivalry is constantly stimulated and where wide differences in social power exist is not concealed. One author points out that failure to cooperate and a display of intolerance are largely the result of "prospects of safe indulgence in cruelty." He does not state whether this type of sadism is native to man or is acquired, but the impression given is

that it is very difficult to eradicate. His suggestion is that if there are people with whom we cannot cooperate or whom we cannot treat tolerantly, they should be expelled or debarred from our country. Surely, the offering in text material of this solution to the problem will be extremely unfortunate in its results.

Tolerance is explained by another author not as something a dominant group grants to a subordinate one, but rather as the recognition of a natural right. The point is stressed that this conception of tolerance should be inculcated on children as a fundamental principle of democracy. Children should be taught to respect differences and should learn that being different does not make people either better or worse. Cooperation is depicted as a complement to tolerance. A desirable basis for the development of cooperation, it is pointed out, "may be found by working out a plan of living together with an awareness of difference in point of view."

Some authors limit their discussion of tolerance to the subject of religion. Where differences seem irreconcilable, each group goes its own way and accords the same right to others. But this sort of indifference is not the means by which cooperation among groups, religious or secular, is to be achieved; and it should be remembered that in the continuum of social technique cooperation is the one most to be desired.

Bigotry, it is claimed in another text, is the ruling principle in society. But how does this fact, if it is a fact, help us? How can we temper bigotry? From a somewhat idealistic viewpoint, another text attempts to clarify the goals we are seeking. They are: tolerance, not as an indulgence but as a right; respect for difference, since differences do not make people "better" or "worse"; and unity rather than uniformity. An appeal is made to the student to "Make America Safe for Differences." But sloganizing and the piling-up of facts about cooperation do not help its practice. Occasionally an author notes this fact. One text makes it clear that the *necessary skills* must be acquired in order to make cooperative plans work; cooperation must be learned through patient practice. The texts make little provision for this training. They can legitimately be criticized for omitting descriptions of how cooperative techniques have been learned by various types of groups in the adult world. A few such illustra-

tions would be far more fruitful than many pages devoted to an exposition of cooperation as a sociological process and the great need in the world today for its serious cultivation.

Common errors in teaching materials

To what extent do the authors of the popular college texts examined fall into common errors such as the use of emotionalized terms and sweeping generalizations, oversimplification, yielding to ethnocentrism, and the making of unbalanced statements? The general level of logical and semantic competence is very high. Exceptions do, however, occur.

Only one author is inclined to use emotionalized terms with too free a hand. His repeated references to a "hodgepodge" of peoples, "hellish possibilities that lurk," and "hell's broth cooked up by a capitalist imperialist who thinks darker peoples are inferior" are extravagances which in some cases may do harm to the causes he cherishes.

Overgeneralizations also occur. It certainly cannot be proved that all Jewish people are liberal in their social beliefs or anxious for economic reform, as one text clearly states. Nor is it true that the Malays, once they have scored against the British in football, gladly admit the governing genius of the British. Nor is it true that all "ascendant" clergymen tend to wink at lying and dishonesty if the culprit is properly pious. It is certainly open to question whether bigotry is the ruling principle in society. But it is also surprising to find an eminent sociologist writing, "America has drawn no line against the foreign-born."

Oversimplifications occur less frequently. But the sensible teacher knows that he cannot "extirpate these childish prejudices as the surgeon removes juvenile adenoids," despite the fact that he may wish this were possible. Medieval Catholicism was not designed solely to meet the needs of an uneducated people. Such a statement is distinctly harmful; sooner or later the student is bound to hear the contemporary Catholic Church referred to as medieval. It is not too difficult to jump from the adjective to the conclusion that modern Catholicism appeals only to the illiterate, the simple-minded, and the credulous. Out of such stuff are prejudices built. Further, the simple policy of closing our doors to people with whom native white

Americans do not freely and easily mix is not the best means by which our society can insure its future unity.

The dangers in ethnocentrism are frequently pointed out. There are, however, mild manifestations of it at some points in discussions of our own culture, chiefly in relation to religion. Attitudes toward other religions are plainly ethnocentric in most cases, Christianity being used as the measurement standard. Without detracting in any way from the merits of Christianity, it would be possible to recognize more clearly the merits of other religions.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Judging by the attitudes expressed in these texts, the authors are sincerely interested in the improvement of intergroup relations even when they are least sanguine about the prospects of betterment in the near future. The omission of materials usually thought to be helpful in achieving greater harmony among groups is due chiefly to the opinion of the authors that introductory college texts in sociology and social science fulfill a different purpose, and that material on intergroup relations is somewhat extraneous. Since some such materials are used for illustrative purposes, however, it would be feasible to employ them more extensively and in more pointed fashion. Various sociological principles and social theories can be clearly and accurately illustrated by well-chosen items from the field of intergroup relations. It is recommended that fuller use of such materials be made.

It is recommended that greater care be exercised in presenting such materials. More careful use of terms, freedom from overgeneralization and oversimplification, and the avoidance of misused emotional terms is strongly urged. While the need for improvement is not so great as in the case of high school texts, it does exist.

It is urged that materials on groups be presented in sufficient detail and completeness to avoid inaccuracy. The contemporary aspects of intergroup problems should not be slighted, though historical perspective and analogies ought by no means to be discarded.

It is suggested that sociological principles have applications to social policy and social action which should not be ignored. Without becoming either dogmatic or propagandistic, concrete ways of meet-

ing problems in the field of intergroup relations can be suggested. Where the author does not wish to point out a specific solution, "case studies" or "problems" can be posed at the conclusion of each chapter which will test the principles advanced. Alternative solutions may be suggested.

Too often the facts presented are dissociated from the emotional drives which impel action. The writer must be objective about his facts and his descriptions, but he may, and indeed should, feel strongly about his values. Emphatically committed to the American Creed, a commitment which he should not conceal, he should present situations dispassionately but interestingly. The will to achieve social change and the techniques of social action must be learned, along with social theory and factual data bearing on ethnic, racial, and religious groups. At present, most college texts are unbalanced because slight attention or no attention at all is given the motivations and techniques of social change; their approach is unnecessarily static.

Appendix

Appendix

Teaching Materials Examined

All of the following books were studied by the Committee on the Study of Teaching Materials in Intergroup Relations in the years 1944-45. The report here published makes use of 124 quotations from 61 books. In December 1948 a check was made of the quotations used to see whether later editions of the texts showed a changed point of view or approach to the teaching of intergroup relations. Of the 61 books, 29 have been issued in revised editions published after books for study had been collected by the committee in 1944. Unhappily, the committee must report that only one book out of the 29 revised editions showed a changed, and "improved," point of view in its treatment of minorities. Six books had slight revisions, involving a change of wording but not of meaning in the excerpts used in this study. One book has retained the original words used, but has added a sizable and excellent section on intergroup education. It is probable, of course, that new books have been issued since 1944 which make a positive contribution to intergroup education, but such books are not included in this study.

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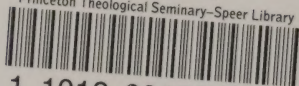
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